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VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Drawings by Victor Hugo

Catalogue by Pierre Georgel

LONDON 1974

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FOREWORD

I should like to thank M. Pierre Georgel for arranging this exhibition and writing the catalogue. Having played a leading part in organizing the important exhibition of drawings by Victor Hugo in France in 1971, he accepted an invitation from us to present a selection of Hugo's drawings to the British public, who have not had such an opportunity of seeing them in this country before, though it has often been said here, as in France, that they are as remarkable as the writings on which Hugo's fame mainly rests. M. Georgel has assembled from many different sources, mainly in France, a collection of drawings that illustrate almost all aspects of Hugo's genius as an artist, and he has given us a catalogue that illuminates the whole field and explains much that is puzzling and mysterious in these extraordinary works.

It is my pleasant duty also to thank the lenders to the exhibition. Mme Martine Ecalle, Conservateur en chef de la Maison de Victor Hugo et de Hauteville House in Guernsey, making an exception for us and departing from her usual policy, which is to keep the Hugo relics in her care intact in the houses to which they properly belong, has lent us no less than seventeen drawings, with the consent of the Direction de l'Action Culturelle de la Ville de Paris. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, that other great repository of Hugo's drawings, has been equally open-handed, and I wish to thank M. Etienne Dennery, M. Jean Adhémar and M. Marcel Thomas for their liberal response to our request for loans. The other public institutions that have generously granted similar requests are the Musée du Louvre, through M. Maurice Sérullaz; the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles, through Mme Latour;

the Musée des Beaux Arts, Lille, through M. H. Oursel; the Fondation Smith-Lesouëf, through M. Alfred Nortier; the Musée Victor Hugo, Villequier, through Mlle Elizabeth Chirol; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, through Mr David Piper; the British Museum, through Mr John Gere; and the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, through Dr F. W. Ratcliffe and Dr F. Taylor. The exhibition owes as much to private lenders as to public institutions. Among them, it is a pleasure to say, is the great-grandson of the artist, M. Jean Hugo. The others are M. François Albert-Buisson; Mme Philippe Devinat; Mme André Gaveau; M. Bernard Malle; Mme R. Langlois-Berthelot; Professor Norman H. Pearson; and Mme Cora Vaucaire. Our thanks are also due to some owners who have lent anonymously.

M. Georgel has asked me to say that he joins with me in thanking these lenders for their help and their readiness to entrust their property to us for the exhibition.

Graham Reynolds
Keeper
Department of Prints, Drawings and Paintings

INTRODUCTION

This is the first exhibition of drawings by Victor Hugo to be presented in Great Britain. It is also the third important exhibition to be solely devoted to them.

The first of these exhibitions took place in Paris in 1888, only three years after Hugo's death. Most of his known graphic work was then grouped into four collections: that of his grandson, Georges Hugo; that of Louis Koch, the heir of his mistress, Juliette Drouet; and those of his executors, Auguste Vacquerie and Paul Meurice. To these were added the 'Hugo Bequest' to the Bibliothèque Nationale, which consisted of over one thousand drawings that had still been neither classified nor even listed in detail. The organizer of the exhibition, Paul Meurice, only assembled the most important items of the four private collections, along with some twenty others and a few manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Nationale. Despite the lack of order in its presentation, the exhibition made a great impact. It was there that the generation of Symbolists discovered Hugo's drawings. J. K. Huysmans and Émile Verhaeren devoted important articles to them, and two years later Van Gogh referred to them as 'astonishing things'.

Today, the Hugo Bequest in the Bibliothèque Nationale has become accessible. The Maison de Victor Hugo, founded in 1903 by Meurice, houses a major collection of Hugo's drawings, the initial nucleus of which, formed by part of the Meurice and Koch collections, continues to expand (at present it comprises some four hundred items). The best known items in the Musée and Bibliothèque have been reproduced in several publications. Recently, in 1967 and 1969, Jean Massin has systematically reproduced in volumes XVII and

xviii of his edition of the *Oeuvres complètes* almost the entire collections of the Maison de Victor Hugo, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Hugo's descendants and those of Paul Meurice: in all about two thousand drawings.

This considerable assemblage is far from complete, however. As early as 1888 many other drawings had eluded Meurice. Since then sets of drawings gathered together in the four collections mentioned have constantly been dispersed at random through bequests and sales. So much so that one can estimate at over a thousand the items that are neither in the Maison de Victor Hugo nor in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Many are not known or are so only through references or old photographs. It is above all on these that the work of research that will culminate in my *Catalogue raisonné des dessins de Victor Hugo* is concentrated. And it was in order to reveal a hundred and eighty of these unpublished or little known drawings that, in 1971–72, the second great exhibition devoted to Hugo's drawings was organized, first at the Musée Victor Hugo at Villequier, then at the Maison de Victor Hugo in Paris.

The exhibition presented by the Victoria and Albert Museum is not intended to show, as was the first, almost all the accessible items, nor like the second to reveal unknown drawings. Although it contains important unpublished sheets, it has drawn on all the collections to represent every aspect of the artist's work. But it also tries to give a particular image of that work.

Before the 1971 exhibition, only one publication, that of Roger Cornaille and Georges Herscher (1963) had seriously tried to present a chronological selection of the drawings. Since then, a number of points have been cleared up and the development of Hugo's drawings has become more evident. This catalogue, following on the work of other publications, introduces some new discoveries. The most important of these, concerning two famous sheets belonging to 1847 and 1850, which were said to date from 1840 and 1860, involve a new revision of the generally accepted chronology.

Many commentators have tended to stress the 'illustrative' value of the drawings in relation to the literary work. This is not the case with this exhibition. Indeeed, there are very few drawings that relate directly to a text. Where comparisons are made, they generally do no more than attest to the thematic unity of Hugo's literary and graphic work as a whole. On the other hand, by inviting comparison not of the themes but of the very activities of Hugo the writer and Hugo the draughtsman, the chronological presentation arouses some suggestive observations. Thus one sees how, in the course of the year 1850, when the writer seemed struck with sterility, drawing took over from language and assumed in a sense the functions of poetic creation; how the graphic production almost came to a standstill in 1852–53, years of intense literary production; and how, in the summer of 1866, Hugo executed simultaneously two series of work – graphic (the *Lighthouses* and other large-scale drawings) and literary (the beginning of *L'Homme qui rit*) – which complement and illuminate one another.

While taking care that every aspect of the *oeuvre* is represented, I have tried to avoid proportional representation. Otherwise the travel sketches and caricatures of the 1860s would have taken up a

good half of the exhibition! Most of the imaginary landscapes, the '*fantasque*' grotesques, the experimental explorations (blots, impressions, stencils...), though less in quantity, are certainly the most remarkable aspect of Hugo's output, and it is these works, which foreshadow some revolutionary innovations of modern art, that contemporary taste finds most absorbing. I have deliberately favoured them in choice and presentation, but at the same time I have tried to avoid one fashionable error – I refer to the practice, begun by the Surrealists, of seeing these strikingly 'modernistic' creations as isolated phenomena in nineteenth-century art. In fact, they are related to other works of the Romantic period, which, like them, occupy a marginal position in relation to the mass of art at the time. I have assembled a few such works in a complementary section (which does not appear in the catalogue): examples of the '*blottesque*' tradition represented by Alexander Cozens, Turner, Constable, Justinus Kerner; examples of impressions, stencils, and assemblages by professional artists (Gillray, Bewick, Runge. . .) or from contemporary popular imagery (Valentine cards, natural printing, visiting-cards and trade-cards, party games, albums and vignettes. . .). This imagery, usually ignored by art history, is often at the source of the most radical experiments in Romantic art. On the other hand, I have done no more than indicate the obvious relation with the picturesque illustration of the 1820s and 1830s. Instead I have tended to emphasize the Naturalist period around 1845 and the Romantic revival of the 1860s, when a number of cross-influences appear between Hugo's drawings and the works of the best engravers of the time. Finally, a few plates by Dürer, Rembrandt, Piranesi and Goya, the masters of the past most dear to Hugo, remind one of the direction of his taste rather than suggest actual influences on his drawings.

Pierre Georgel

REFERENCES

This list is not a complete bibliography of the subject. The *Catalogue raisonné des dessins de Victor Hugo* (to be published by Editions Flammarion, Paris) will contain such a bibliography. Meanwhile, a fairly large number of quotations from or references to writings on Hugo's drawings can be found in Pierre Georgel's *Histoire d'un "peintre malgré lui"* (hereafter: 1969 Georgel).

I BOOKS AND ARTICLES

This list refers only to sources and studies referred to in this catalogue.

1862 Chenay alb: *Dessins de Victor Hugo gravés par Paul Chenay*, text by Théophile Gautier, Paris, Castel, 1863 [*sic*, published in December 1862].

1875 Burty: Philippe Burty, *Les dessins de Victor Hugo*, *L'Art*, 12 September 1875, pp. 32–8. Text reproduced in Ph. Burty, *Maîtres et petits-maîtres*, Paris, Charpentier, 1877, pp. 311–32 (My references are to *L'Art* for the illustrations and to *Maîtres et petits-maîtres* for the text).

[1876–1897] Hugues ed: edition of the *Oeuvres Complètes de Victor Hugo*, begun by Eugène Hugues and continued by *Librairie du Victor Hugo illustré*, 33 vols., 1876–97.

1882 Méaulle alb: *Dessins de Victor Hugo. Les Travailleurs de la mer*, engravings by F. Méaulle, Paris, Atelier de reproductions artistiques, 1882.

1903 Alexandre: Arsène Alexandre, *La Maison de Victor Hugo*, Paris, Hachette, 1903,

1903 Bertaux: Émile Bertaux, *Victor Hugo artiste*, i, *Le dessinateur*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1903, vol. xxix, pp. 465–89; ii, *Le décorateur*, *ibid.*, vol. xxx, pp. 146–72.

1904 Simon: Gustave Simon, *Visite à la Maison de Victor Hugo*, Paris, Ollendorf, 1904.
1907 Planès: Eugène Planès, *Catalogue de la Maison de Victor Hugo*, Paris, Librairies-Imprimeries Réunies, 1907.
1914 Focillon: Henri Focillon, *Les dessins de Victor Hugo*, *Bulletin des Amis de l'Université de Lyon*, mars-avril 1914, pp. 72–86. Text reproduced in H. Focillon, *Technique et sentiment, études sur l'art moderne*, Paris, Laurens, 1919, pp. 46–63.
1925 Geffroy: *Douze dessins de Victor Hugo gravés sur bois par Georges Aubert*, preface by Gustave Geffroy, Paris, Crès, 1925.
1926 Escholier: Raymond Escholier, *Victor Hugo artiste*, Paris, Crès, 1926.
1928 Weiss: René Weiss, *La Maison de Victor Hugo à Guernesey* (*Hauteville House, propriété de la Ville de Paris*), Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1928.
1934 1st cat. MVH: *Maison de Victor Hugo. Catalogue* [pref. by Paul Souchon; cat. compiled by Jean Sergent under the direction of Raymond Escholier], Paris, Ville de Paris, 1934.
1947 Delalande: Jean Delalande, *Victor Hugo à Hauteville House*, Paris, Albin-Michel, 1947.
1955 Sergent: Jean Sergent, *Dessins de Victor Hugo*, Paris and Geneva, La Palatine, 1955.
1957 2nd cat. MVH: *Maison de Victor Hugo: Catalogue* [by Jean Sergent], *deuxième édition revue et augmentée*, Paris, Ville de Paris, 1957.
1959 J and R: Victor Hugo, *Carnet, mars-avril 1836*, edited by René Journet and Guy Robert, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1959.
1960 Solente: Suzanne Solente, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du Département des Manuscrits (1951–1957)*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1960.
1961 J and R: *Victor Hugo, Théâtre de la Gaîté* (*choix de dessins*) (*album B.N. n. a. f. 13352*), edited by René Journet and Guy Robert, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1961.
1962 Lethève: *Dessins de Victor Hugo* [drawings chosen and introduced by Jacques Lethève], *Textes et Documents*, no. 11, September 1962.
1963 J and R: Victor Hugo, *Trois albums, B.N. n. a. f. 13351, 13355, 24807* (*Choix de lavis et inventaire*), edited by René Journet and Guy Robert, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1963.
[1963] Min: *Victor Hugo dessinateur*, pref. by Gaëtan Picon, notes and catalogue entries by Roger Cornaille and Georges Herscher, Paris, éd. du Minotaure, 1963. (I refer to this publication by the abbreviation 'Min', followed by the number of the drawing.)
1964 Delalande: Jean Delalande, *Victor Hugo dessinateur génial et halluciné*, Paris, Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1964.
[1967] M I: Victor Hugo, *Oeuvre graphique*, vol. i, *Ecce Homo*, edited by Bernadette Grynberg and Jean Massin, in Victor Hugo, *Oeuvres complètes*, chronological edition published under the direction of Jean Massin, vol. xvii, Paris, Le Club français du Livre, 1967. (I refer to this and the following publication by the abbreviation 'M I' or 'M II', followed by the number of the entry).
[1969] M II: *Ibid*, vol. ii, *Architectures, paysages, marines, décors, pochoirs, pliages, etc.*, *ibid.*, vol. xviii, *id.*, 1969.
1969 Georgel: Pierre Georgel, *Histoire d'un "peintre malgré lui": Victor Hugo, ses dessins et*

les autres, in M II, pp. 13–80.
1971 Georgel: Pierre Georgel, *Dessins de Victor Hugo*, [pref. by Elisabeth Chirol and Martine Écalle; prefatory essay by André Masson],– Villequier, Musée Victor Hugo, and Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, 1971.
1971 Georgel, *Collections*: Pierre Georgel, *Dessins de Victor Hugo dans les collections publiques françaises*, *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 1971, nos. 4–5, pp. 251–68.
1971 Georgel, *Sources*: Pierre Georgel, *Les "sources" de quelques dessins de Victor Hugo*, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français*, 1971 [published in 1972], pp. 281–95.
1973 Georgel: Pierre Georgel, *Le romantisme des années 1860. Correspondance Victor Hugo–Philippe Burty*, *Revue de l'art*, 1973, no. 20, pp. 8–64.

II EXHIBITIONS

This list is limited to *monographic* exhibitions that presented drawings by Victor Hugo included in the present exhibition.

1888 Paris: 'Exposition de dessins et de manuscrits de Victor Hugo, au bénéfice de la souscription pour sa statue', Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 1888. Preface to the second edition by Albert Wolff.
1919 Paris: 'Exposition du Rhin. Dessins de Victor Hugo', Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, 1919–20. Cat. by Raymond Escholier.
1930 Paris: 'Victor Hugo raconté par l'image', Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, 1930. Cat. by Raymond Escholier.
1935 Paris: 'Les séjours de Victor Hugo', Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, 1935. Pref. by Paul Souchon. Cat. by Jean Sergent.
1951 Geneva: 'Dessins de Victor Hugo dans les collections de la Maison de Victor Hugo (Paris)', Geneva, Musée Rath, 1951. Cat. by Jean Sergent.
1952 Paris: 'Victor Hugo. Exposition organisée pour commémorer le cent-cinquantième anniversaire de sa naissance', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1952. Pref. by Julien Cain. Introd. and catalogue entries on the drawings by Jean Prinet.
1953 Paris: 'Maturité de Victor Hugo (1828–1848)', Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, 1953. Cat. by Jean Sergent.
1955 Guernsey: 'Victor Hugo en exil', Guernsey, Hauteville House, 1955. Cat. by Jean Sergent.
1959 Paris: 'Centenaire de la Légende des Siècles', Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, 1959. Cat. by Jean Sergent.
1971 Mâcon: 'Dessins de Victor Hugo', Mâcon, Musée des Ursulines, 1971.
1971–1972 Villequier-Paris: 'Dessins de Victor Hugo', Villequier, Musée Victor Hugo, then Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo, 1971–72. Cat. by Pierre Georgel [1971 Georgel].
1972 Paris: 'Dessins et ébauches de Victor Hugo provenant de la succession Hugo', Paris, Galerie Lucie Weill, 1972. Pref. by Gaëtan Picon. Republication of an article by J.-K. Huysmans. [Cat. from information provided by Pierre Georgel.]
1972 Neuchâtel: 'Victor Hugo, Dessins et ébauches', Neuchâtel, Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1972. Pref. by Daniel Vouga.

In references to the exhibitions I mention the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale only in cases where they were presented open at the same pages as in the present exhibition.

The dates placed at the head of the entries, after the number of the work exhibited, are given without brackets when they are attested by an autograph inscription by the artist. They are placed in square brackets when they have been established or proposed by the author of the catalogue.

The titles placed between square brackets at the head of each entry are not from Hugo. When they use an inscription from the artist, it is placed between quotation marks, but this does not mean that Hugo intended the inscription as a title.

Sizes are given in millimetres, the first figure referring to the height, the second to the width.

References to Hugo's writings are, unless otherwise stated, to the chronological edition of the *Oeuvres complètes*, published under the direction of Jean Massin (Paris, Le Club français du Livre, 1967–71), shortened to 'Massin ed', followed by the volume number in roman numerals and the page number in arabic numerals.

CATALOGUE

I Before 1840

Like everyone else, Hugo drew as a child. He stopped doing so at the usual age; then, about 1825, according to several witnesses, he began again. Little, and nothing of any significance, survives of this work prior to about 1830.

From this period date a few slight caricatures, intermingled with some scribblings by Hugo's children: freshness and *naïveté* are their principal qualities. For the amusement of his family Hugo continued until 1840 to draw caricatures which retain that earlier freshness, as do his first travel sketches of 1834, 1835 and 1836. Thus, side by side with his literary work, a still marginal, discontinuous body of graphic work was gradually taking shape.

What, at least, gives unity to this disparate, and often more curious than beautiful, work is its experimental character. Small, pointed figures alternate with correct, meticulous landscapes drawn from life, or dreamy compositions in which the lines and values begin to fall apart. The influences – those of contemporary caricature, the *Voyages pittoresques*, the landscapes of the Danube School – have not been profoundly assimilated. Unlike the writer, the draughtsman has not yet found his own style and subjects.

Hugo was to find these during his journey to the Rhine in 1840. This journey inspired his great book, *Le Rhin*, in which he finally passed from a picturesque manner to the contemplative vision in which his genius was to find mature expression. At the same time, the draughtsman's most obsessive themes began to crystallize around the memorable image of the *burg*, together with a black and white technique, deeply rooted in both his temperament and the style of the period.

1 [January 1831] [*Scribblings*]

Pen and brown ink on white paper. 365 × 230
At the top, in the middle: Didine (janvier 1831).

PROV: Coll. Louis Icart; gift of L. Icart, 1937.

EXHIB: 1953 Paris (157).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

This unpublished drawing should be compared with two similar ones preserved among the so-called 'shavings' for Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* (M I, 12–13). The second bears on the verso a note dated 'night of January 7–8 1831'. Mixed with it are drawings and inscriptions in the hands of Hugo and his children. Hugo has imitated the clumsiness and naivety of the children's funny figures. The inscription (which is certainly Hugo's, contrary to what I wrote in *Léopoldine Hugo*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1967, p. 102) is difficult to interpret. Does it mean that 'Didine' (Léopoldine) is the author of some of the drawings, or that she is the model for the silhouette of a girl with fat cheeks? Perhaps both.

Historically, it is one of the earliest surviving evidences of the Romantics' interest in children's drawings. See, on this subject, P. Georgel, *Le "Primitivisme" avant l'art moderne. Situation du dessin d'enfant de Hogarth à Courbet*, to be published in the *Gazette des Beaux-arts*.

Dilla va chez la fillette
Dilla convoite une jolie femme.
Dilla donne un coup de pied au cul à un gamin qui lui a mangé

Dilla envie la petite de profiter à l'instituteur.
Dilla a le cœur si humain en vrai : vive la loi !
Dilla donne la gaule au gendarme qui la chevauche sans selle

Six drawings, pen and brown ink on white paper, laid down on a double sheet of white paper. Each drawing: 95 × 120

1 *left* Pista va chez les filles
(Pista visits the girls)

2 *left* Pista convoite une jolie femme
(Pista lusts after a pretty woman)

3 *bottom* Pista donne un coup de pied au cul à un gamin qui lui a manqué
(Pista kicks an urchin in the backside)

4 *top right* Pista recoit le prix de poésie à l'institut
(Pista receives the poetry prize at the Institut)

5 *right* Pista a la croix d'honneur et crie: vive le roâ!
(Pista has the cross of honour and cries: Long live the king!)

6 *bottom right* Pista monte la garde et appelle les républicains *sacrés cochons*.
(Pista mounts guard and calls the republicans *sacrés cochons*)

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13355, fol. 24–5 (1960 Solente, p. 45).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885. Pieces included in a miscellany after Hugo's death.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, pp. 35–6; Min. 6–11; 1964 Delalande, ill. fig. 74 [drawing 1]; M I, 42–3.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

In his diary, on 16 April 1832 Antoine Fontaney describes a visit to Victor Hugo: '. . . we stayed in Victor's study until midnight, chatting and gossiping; Boulanger was making a sketch of the phantom huntsman; Victor was also drawing, making little caricatures of Toto and Pista that he places on his children's beds every night so that they'd see them on waking in the morning, to their great delight' (A. Fontaney, *Journal intime*, ed. R. Jasinski, Paris, 1925, p. 133). The six drawings exhibited are probably some of those 'little caricatures'.

Who is Pista? The name reappears in a roughly contemporary drawing, *Toto* [i.e. Victor Hugo Jr] *Triumphs over Pista* (M I, 47), in which he designates a small boy, unconnected with the 'Pista' of our drawings. Furthermore, in 1835 the Hugo family had a dog called Pista. Léopoldine mentions it in a letter of 1 September to Louise Bertin: 'That's our little dog and he bites terribly he has torn a dress of embroidered muslin of mother's and he bites your fingers terribly the other day I had some little white spots that Monsieur Pista had given me with his teeth which are very sharp the other day he bit Dédé's nose he really is a little devil' (*Correspondance de Léopoldine Hugo*, ed. Pierre Georgel, to be published, Paris, 1974). Pierre Foucher, Victor Hugo's father-in-law, wrote to his sister, Mme Asseline, on 6 September: 'The little dog Pitzo [probably an error of the transcriber for "Pista"] is in great favour with his master' (Alfred Asseline, *Victor Hugo intime*, Paris, 1885, p. 69). It is unlikely, however, that this dog was already born in 1832. Maybe he was called 'Pista', after the character in the caricatures, on account of his aggressiveness, and the character was an imaginary type, like Mayeux or Robert Macaire.

In any case this series is typical of the caricatures produced in the 1830s. In drawing 5 there is an obvious allusion to Philipon's famous 'pear', representing Louis-Philippe. One also finds here a type of grotesque figure, the 'head with legs', frequent in the fantastic iconography of the Middle Ages (see J. Baltrusaïtis, *Le moyen âge fantastique*, Paris, 1955, and the examples reproduced in 1964 Delalande, figs. 75–6).

3 [about 1832] [*Lacuée de Cessac*]

Pen and brown ink on white paper. 200 × 133
At the bottom, in an unknown hand: Lacuée de Cessac.

PROV: Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, Salle 8, 25 November 1970, no. 42; Librairie Georges Heilbrun, Paris; acquired in 1971.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 3, ill.; 1971 Georgel, *Collections*, p. 254, ill. fig. 3.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (3).

Musée Victor Hugo, Villequier

The model, identified by the inscription, is Gérard-Jean Lacuée, Comte de Cessac (1752–1841), a general of the Revolution, then an important figure under the Empire and, finally, a supporter of the Bourbons. The July Monarchy also showered honours upon him. He embodied the vices of authority and opportunism that Hugo's caricatures so frequently denounce.

Hugo represented Cessac in three other, obviously contemporary, caricatures (M I, 50, 53, 54), one of which (M I, 54) is simply a variation of this drawing. They can be dated about December 1832.

4 [about 1832] [*Paul Foucher*]

Pen and brown ink on white paper. 147×97

PROV: Sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 17 March 1972 (not included in the catalogue).

Musée Victor Hugo, Villequier

This drawing comes from a split-up album that contained seven caricatures (one by Alfred de Musset, six by Hugo) representing Paul Foucher.

Foucher (1810–1875), Victor Hugo's brother-in-law, was a verbosé writer of little talent, involved in the Romantic milieu around 1830. He seems to have been a favourite target for artists. 'The good Paul Foucher was not seen in a very serious light by artists,' recounts Champfleury (*Les vignettes romantiques*, Paris, 1883). He was the subject of caricatures by Delacroix (3rd cat. MVH, no. 513), Musset (*ibid.*, no. 566) and Devéria (E. Chirol and P. Georgel, *Les donations Lefèvre-Vacquerie au musée Victor Hugo de Villequier*, *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, no. 2, 1967, ill. fig. 6).

This caricature, like no. 3, was taken from a definite model. This probably goes also for many of the caricatures of the same period that one might be tempted to see as pure fantasies.

5 [about 1835]
['*I love you, madam!!!!*']

Pen and brown ink on yellowish paper laid down on white paper. 118 × 83
At the bottom: Je vous aime, madame ! ! ! !; bottom right, in the writing of Auguste Vacquerie: *Victor Hugo*. At the top, one can read the bottom of the following words: a moi [?] seul.

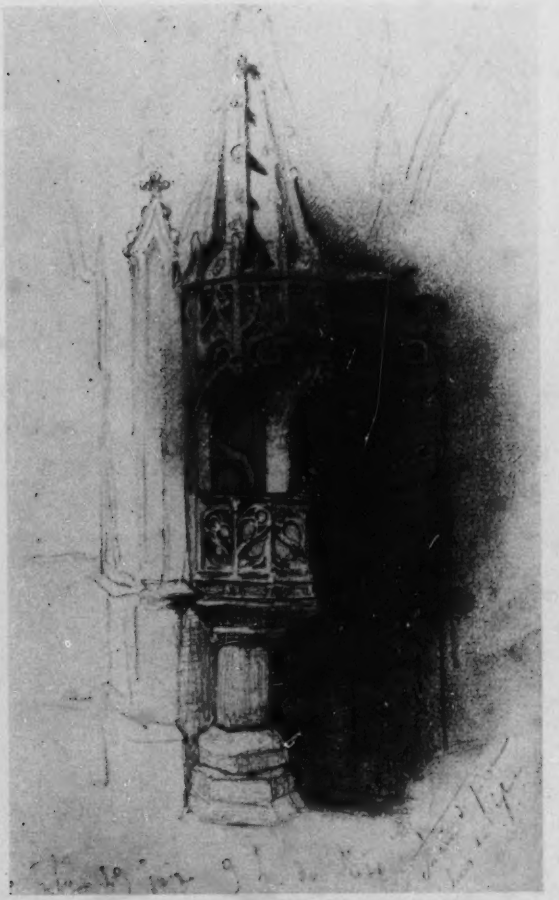
PROV: Coll. Léopoldine Hugo; Auguste Vacquerie; Mme Ernest Lefèvre; Pierre Lefèvre-Vacquerie.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 7, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (7).

Coll. Mme André Gaveau, Paris

This caricature comes from an album of Hugo's drawings that belonged to his daughter Léopoldine and remained in her husband's family (press cutting of 1902, without references, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, fonds Rondel, Rf. 28163-1, fol. 16; see an unpublished letter from Auguste Vacquerie to his sister, Mme Lefèvre, 16 March 1856, Musée de Villequier). It is contemporary with two other drawings (M 1, 104 and 105), one of which is on an envelope dated 1835.



6 29 June [1836]
[*A stone pulpit at Saint-Lô*]

Pencil on white paper. 90 × 115
At the bottom: St Lô – 29 juin 9h. du soir;
right: chaire de pierre hors de l'église (stone pulpit outside the church).

PROV: Coll. Juliette Drouet; Louis Koch?; Louis Barthou; Gérard de Berny; acquired in 1959.

BIBL: L. Barthou, *Un voyage romantique en 1836*, Paris, 1921, facsimile reproduction of original album, ill.; 1964 Delalande, repr. fig. 4; M II, 83.

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

This is Hugo's third travel album. It is typical of his first manner, very analytical, in the style of contemporary landscape lithographs, in particular of the *Voyages pittoresques*, which he knew well. This drawing represents the outside pulpit of the church of St Lô (Calvados). 'At this church at Saint-Lô there is a unique detail that I have seen nowhere else; this is an outside pulpit, with a door leading into the church, from which the priest harangued the people, the whole carved in the manner of the fifteenth century' (Hugo to Mme Hugo, 30 June 1836, Massin ed., v, 1102).

7 [about 1837] [*Caricature*]

Pen and brown ink on yellow paper stamped with the initials AH [Adèle Hugo], surmounted with a baron's coronet, laid on white paper. 201 × 132

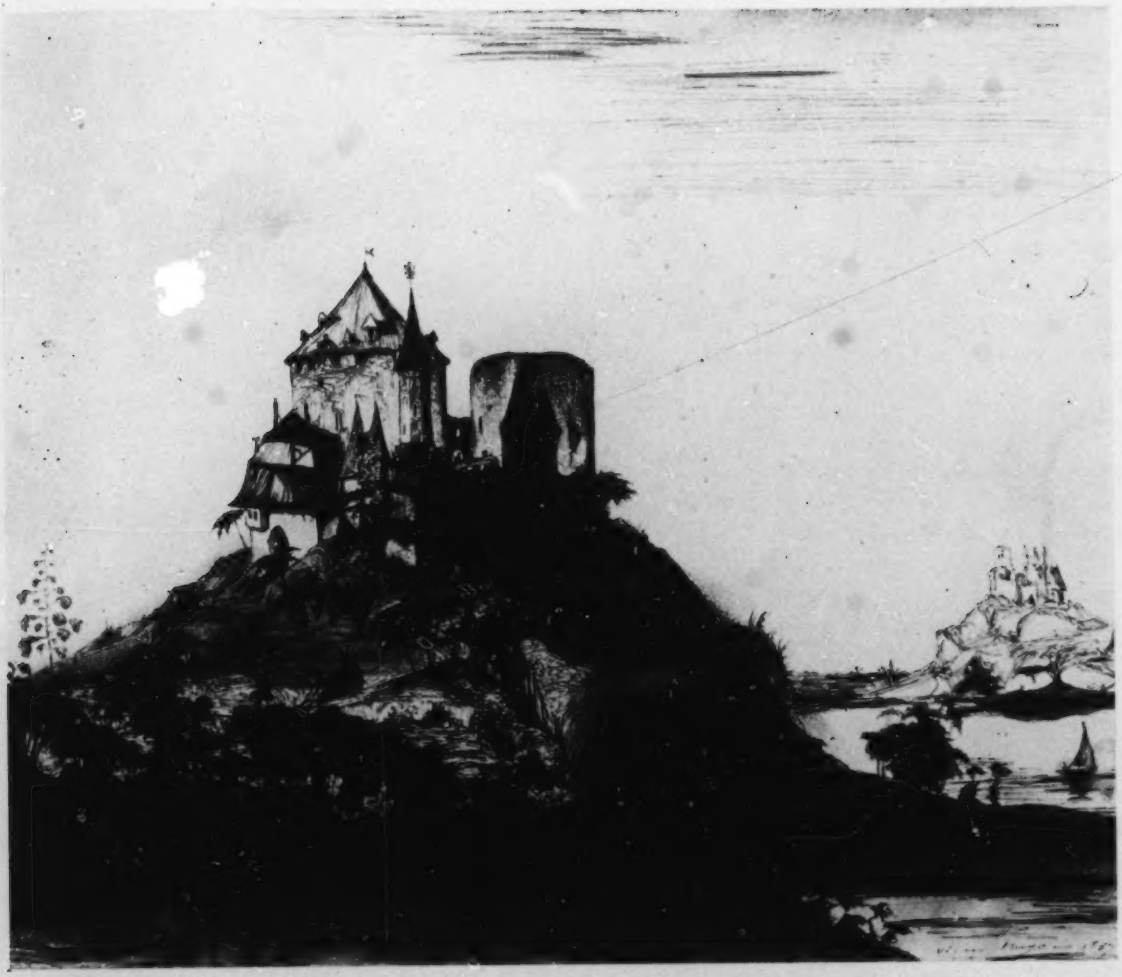
PROV: Coll. Léopoldine Hugo?; Auguste Vacquerie; Mme Ernest Lefèvre; Pierre Lefèvre-Vacquerie.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 9.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (9).

Coll. Mme André Gaveau, Paris

Probably from the same album as no. 5. Hugo seems to have used this paper in 1837 only. It could be one of the 'witty caricatures' referred to by Vacquerie in an unpublished letter to Hugo dated 16 May 1837 (Maison de Victor Hugo).



8 1837 [*Two castles by a river*]

Pen and brown wash on white paper. 195 × 230
Bottom right: Victor Hugo – 1837.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 14, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (14).

Coll. M. Bernard Malle, Paris

There is a striking resemblance between this drawing and the Rhine landscapes drawn in 1840 (see no. 11). Was Hugo already thinking of the Rhine in particular? In 1827 his Cromwell dreamt of them: 'They say the banks of the Rhine are very beautiful. All my life I have wanted to visit them' (See J.-B. Barrère, *La Fantaisie de Victor Hugo*, i, Paris, 1949, p. 157).

Although I have been unable to find an exact 'source' for this drawing, it may have been inspired by an old engraving. It is particularly reminiscent of the landscapes of the Danube School.

9 [about 1837]
[*Landscape with a row of towers along a river*]

Pen and brown ink on white paper. 206 × 240

PROV: M. Kohn; Sale, Versailles, Hôtel des Chevaux-Légers, 30 January 1972 (not mentioned in catalogue).

BIBL: etching by Edmond Hédouin, *L'Artiste*, 17 August 1844; etching (reversed) by Berthe Pilete, *Paris à l'eau-forte*, 1874.

Private collection

Since its foundation, the Maison de Victor Hugo has possessed a drawing (M II, 547) of 195 × 237 that shows the same composition as no. 9. M II 547 has always been regarded as by Hugo and was reproduced as such in the Hugues edition of *Le Rhin* of 1890 (p. 60). It is generally thought that Hédouin's engraving was made after it, but the original is undoubtedly no. 9, which was not known before 1972. It is certainly Hugo's (an inscription on the old mounting confirms this attribution) and one has only to compare it with Hédouin's etching to see that the latter was executed from it and not from M II 547, which seems to me a study after the original drawing by one of the engravers.

No. 9 is closely related to a group of sheets dating from around 1837 (see no. 10). The city in the background, dominated by a cathedral, reminds one particularly of a landscape dated April 1837 (1971 Georgel, no. 12), which makes use of memories of Chartres. The building in the foreground is reminiscent of an undated drawing, probably of the same period, that was engraved in 1847 by Marvy (1973 Georgel, repr. fig. 77). The outline of the towers recalls an imaginary tower, drawn in 1837 in the manuscript of *Les Voix intérieures* (M II, 488). The river curiously foreshadows the Rhenish landscapes that Hugo was to discover in 1840, as does no. 8, dated 1837.

The motif of the row of towers is found again in 1850 in no. 20 and in *Le Burg à la Croix* (M II, 551). This explains why M II 547 was thought to be a study for *Le Burg à la Croix* (1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 77).

10 [about 1837]
[*Imaginary landscape*]

Pen and brown wash on white paper. 238 × 157

Bottom left, the monogram VH.; below: pr ma [two scratched out words that I suggest might be: petite didine] 3 7bre 1842. On the verso, a pencil sketch, and an inscription that, translated, reads: 'This drawing from the hand of Victor Hugo was given to me by Madame Veuve Lefèvre, née Vacquerie, one of whose brothers, Charles Vacquerie, had married Léopoldine Hugo – daughter of the great Poet – both of whom were lost in the shipwreck of a sailing vessel that sank off Villequier, under the eyes, so to speak, of Madame Veuve Vacquerie, Charles's mother.

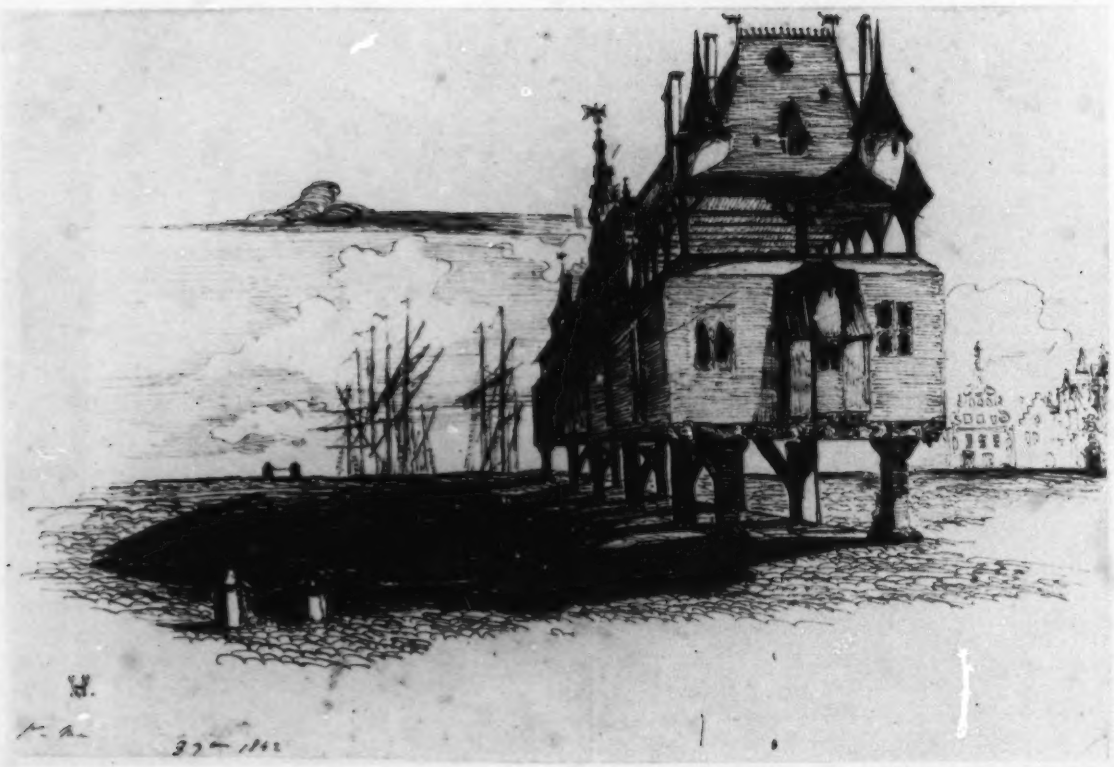
I had given this drawing to Monsieur Léopold Marcel, my elder brother of so good and honourable memory, and it came back into my hands with the splitting up of his Library, which was carried out by Monsieur L. Alph. Chassant, one of our most distinguished paleographers, keeper of the Musée d'Evreux, and Monsieur Paul St Martin, my cousin, librarian of the City of Louviers – 5 August 1876. Emil. Muller [the signature is uncertain]'.

PROV: Coll. Léopoldine Hugo (?); Mme Nicolas Lefèvre; E. Muller [uncertain]; Léopold Marcel; E. Muller; Anthony d'Offay Fine Art, London.

Coll. Prof Norman H. Pearson, New Haven, Conn. (USA)

My reading of the dedication is not impossible. Indeed, Léopoldine could have given this drawing to her sister-in-law during the weeks she spent at the latter's home at Le Havre in 1843, between her marriage and her death. Or Mme Lefèvre might have recovered it after the drowning at Villequier (which would explain why she scratched out the dedication when giving it to M. Marcel).

In September 1842 Léopoldine was on holiday at Saint-Prix, near Paris, with her mother, her brothers and her sister. Victor Hugo was staying in Paris, where he was working on *Les Burgraves*;



but he corresponded with his children and sent them drawings on several occasions (*Correspondance de Léopoldine Hugo*, ed. Pierre Georgel, to be published, Paris, 1974).

The date is that of the dedication, but not necessarily that of the drawing itself. Although 1842 is not a totally improbable date (cf. 1971 Georgel, no. 20, dated 1842), I am inclined to date it five years earlier, by comparing it to the drawings dated (or which can be confidently assigned to) 1837.

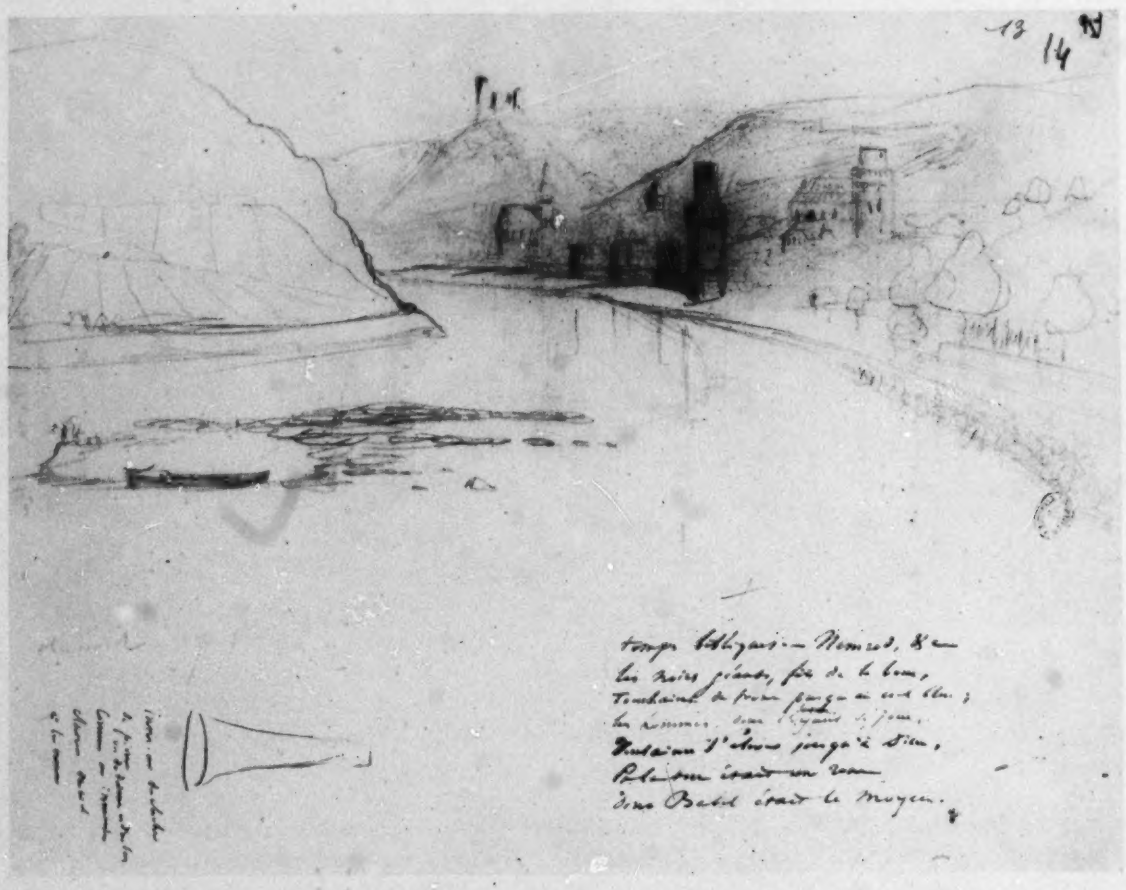
Among these drawings is a first series of odd 'landscapes' representing oriental-style buildings (M II, 495–99). They provide a link between *Les Orientales*, of eight years earlier, and the future oriental cycles of *La Légende des Siècles*.

With this little series alternate drawings of a quite different, but equally imaginary kind (no. 8 and 1971 Georgel, nos. 11–12). The composition is undoubtedly a fantasy, but it uses 'things seen'. One of them, for example, combines, in a new arrangement, architectural elements sketched on the spot in 1836; another uses elements from Chartres Cathedral and the Tour Saint Jacques de la Boucherie (see 1971 Georgel, pp. 63–5).

The vigorous, precise work of the pen is equally remarkable and new. For the first time, we see a similarity between Hugo's way of drawing and the technique of etching, which can often be observed later.

In both handling and inspiration, the Pearson drawing is closely related to this last group. The landscape has not so far been identified. On the other hand, as in the drawings mentioned above, one can find elements seen by Hugo, combined and transformed in an imaginary composition. All these elements are derived from Hugo's journey through Belgium and northern France in August–September 1837. This drawing must have been made shortly afterwards. See, in particular, for the central building: André Durand's lithograph of Hugo's *Souvenir de Belgique*, representing the hall and belfry of Lier (M II, 105); and for the cobble-stoned square bordered with baroque houses the views of Mons, Gand and Lier (M II, 94, 95, 105). Also from this journey dates the first of Hugo's drawings to represent ships (M II, 101).

13 14



temps obligeait Mercœur, à
les Noces générales, fête de la Lune,
Troublaient de leurs songes un seul Elu ;
les hommes, dans l'Egypte d'Isis,
Voulaient d'abord songer à Dieu,
Puis eurent enfin un Roi
dans Babel était le Moyen.

Pencil on white paper. 230 × 300
Bottom left, in pencil: Oberwesel – 7 7bre. 4h. ½
Bottom right, in ink: temps bibliques – Nemrod, &c/les noirs géants, fils de la boue,/Touchaient du front jusqu'au ciel bleu;/les hommes dont l'orgueil [above: Satan] se joue,/Voulaient s'élever jusqu'à Dieu,/Palatin était une roue/dont Babel était le moyeu.

(biblical times – Nimrod etc/the black giants, the progeny of mud,/Touched the blue skies with their foreheads;/the men whose pride is Satan's plaything/aspired as high as God,/Palatium was a wheel/of which Babel was the hub.)

Bottom left, in ink, above a sketch: intérieur du clocher/de pierre/vu de dedans et d'en bas/ comme une immense/clairière du ciel/à la terre.

(interior of the stone belfry/seen from inside and looking up/like a vast clearing stretching from heaven to earth.)

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13348, fol. 13 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: M II, 142.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

An album of notes and drawings used by Hugo during his journey to the Rhine in 1840.

One can recognize the landscape described in letter XVII from *Le Rhin:*

'As one proceeds up the Rhine, a mile from Saint-Goar [. . .], one suddenly sees, in the gap between two mountains, a fine feudal city spread out, from half-way down the slope to the bank of the Rhine, with old streets such as we see in Paris only on the stage of the Opéra, fourteen crenellated towers, almost covered with ivy, and two large churches of the purest Gothic. It is Oberwesel, one of the cities of the Rhine that have most waged war [. . .].

Like almost all the cities of the Rhine, Oberwesel has its ruined castle on the mountain, the Schoenberg, one of the most admirable ruins in Europe' (Massin ed., vi, 296).

II 1840–51

After the journey of 1840, which, for several weeks, concentrated Hugo's imagination on the dark outlines of the Rhenish *Burgs*, dreams of a more obscure kind poured out into his drawings. A whole world began to be formed around signs recollected from memory – ruined castles, outlines of towns by the waterside. A few excursions and another long journey (to the Pyrenees in 1843) extended the repertoire. A deeper experience of nature appears in the depiction of space. Supple trees interpose curtains of foliage between the light of the air and the light of the water. Even buildings lose their solidity and become delicate screens reminiscent of a shadow theatre.

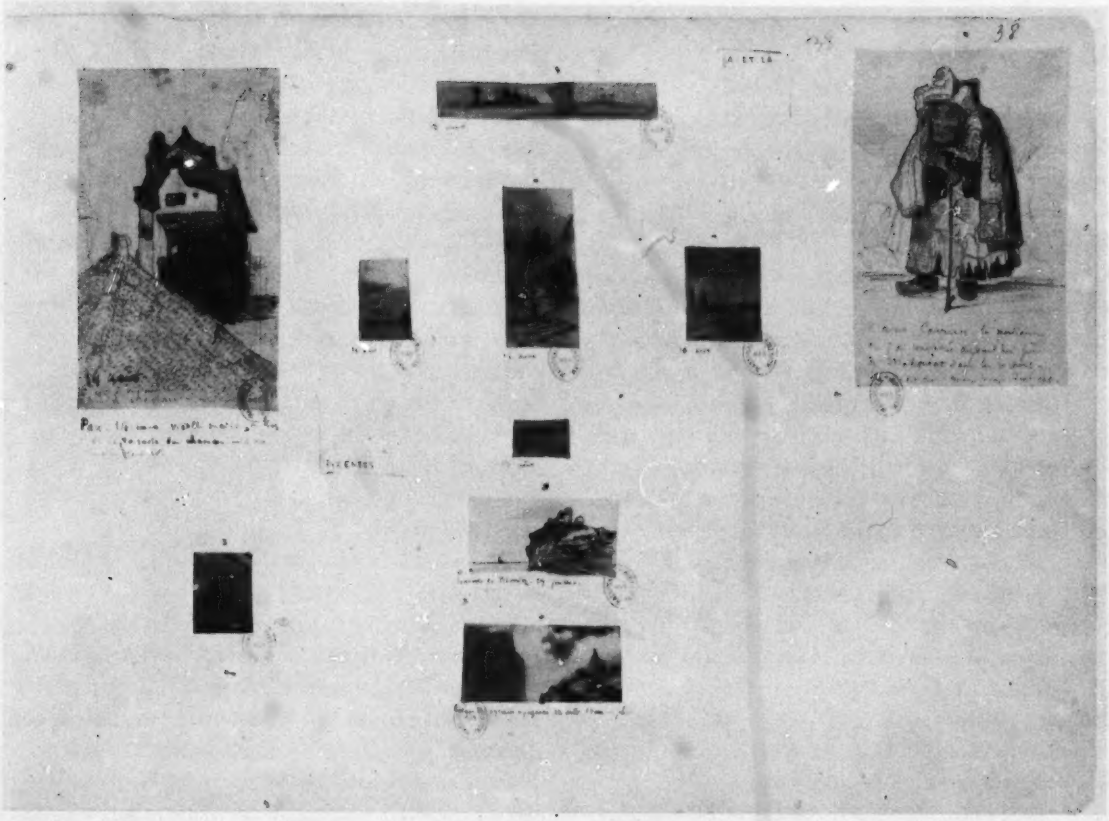
Their naturalistic motifs, their sensitivity to atmosphere, conveyed by subtly contrasted values, relate the drawings of this period to a whole range of dreamy Romantic landscapes: Granet, Paul Huet, the English and French artists of the vignette landscape. About 1847, when the development that had become apparent since 1843 reached its height, Hugo's style as a draughtsman was almost indistinguishable from that of Théodore Rousseau and other painters of the Barbizon School, such as he might have known mostly through small, engraved, black and white reproductions.

One can also find in these drawings the general development of the poet. It is no coincidence that the admirable flowering of landscapes in 1847 is an extension of the lyrical outpourings of 1846, with their fresh feelings for nature and their movement away from reality to what Hugo was soon to call 'contemplation'. However, after the highly productive period of 1846, Hugo's literary creation

diminished in 1847, then, with a few exceptions, died out.

Then came a unique phenomenon in Hugo's life: in the space of a few months, which scarcely lasted later than 1850, he transferred into drawing the creativity that had hitherto found expression in literature. While his life was taken up with political activity and love affairs, drawing took over from poetry the task of expressing his most personal feelings. But, whereas in previous years he had been content to work on a small scale, there now appeared, in 1850 alone, some fifteen large-scale works, including one [*Le Burg à la Croix*, Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo] measuring 1·15m. by 1·69m. The earlier delicate miniatures, suffused with a vague dreaminess, were followed by allegorical compositions and, above all, by vast landscapes of ruins, marshlands and deserts – elementary symbols of impossible communication and creation.

Most of these compositions isolate familiar sites and objects in an empty space in which confused appearances sometimes float. These metamorphoses of familiar things, these mixtures of reality and illusion, belong above all to the dream state, and place certain of the drawings of 1850 among the masterpieces of fantastic art.



12. [1843–?] [*Landscapes from a journey to the Pyrenees*]

Ten drawings on blue-tinted paper, laid down on a sheet of white paper. 230 × 312
The numbering of the drawings, from top to bottom and from left to right, is not Hugo's own. Unless otherwise stated, the inscriptions are in brown ink, below the drawing, on the sheet of white paper.

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13346, fol. 38 (1960 Solente, p. 43).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

Drawings 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 were assembled by Hugo under the following headings: top right: CÀ ET LÀ; bottom left: PYRÉNÉES.

1 Pen and brown ink wash on pencil drawing, with pencil scumble. 99 × 57. On the bottom left of drawing: 14 août [an illegible word] du soir. ce qui a vu naître Henri IV. terrasse du château [August 14 . . . at night. Birthplace of Henri IV. Castle terrace]; below: Pau. 14 août. vieille maison en bas de la terrasse du château. a vu naître Henri IV [old house at the foot of the castle terrace. Birthplace of Henri IV].
BIBL: 1894, Hughes ed., *Alps et Pyrénées* [referred to hereafter as *A. et P.*], ill. p. 114; M II, 196.

2 Pen and brown ink, stumped pencil. 10 × 64
Below: 18 août.
BIBL: M I, 193.

3 Pen and brown ink, stumped pencil. 23 × 15
Below: 14 août.
BIBL: 1894 *A. et P.*, ill. p. 189; M I, 189.

4 Pen and brown ink, pencil scumble. 47 × 21
Below: 15 août.
BIBL: M II, 190.

5 Pen and brown ink wash. 27 × 22
Below: 16 août.
BIBL: 1894 *A. et P.*, ill. p. 108; M II, 191.

6 Pencil, touched up with brown ink washes and black crayon. 98 × 61. At bottom of drawing: 18 août. Cauterets. La mendiante que j'ai rencontrée aujourd'hui près de Mahourat dans les rochers. Elle m'a dit avoir quatre vingt-sept ans [18 August. Cauterets. The beggarwoman I met today on the rocks near Mahourat. She told me she was eighty-seven].
BIBL: 1894 *A. et P.*, ill. p. 84; M I, 197.

7 Pen and brown ink wash. 10 × 16
Below: 17 août.
BIBL: 1894 *A. et P.*, ill. p. 112; M I, 192.

8 Pen and brown ink wash. 22 × 42
Below: souvenir de Biarritz. 27 juillet.
BIBL: 1894 *A. et P.*, ill. p. 57; M II, 194.

9 Pen and brown ink wash. 23 × 17
BIBL: 1894 *A. et P.*, ill. p. 100; M II, 178.

10 Pen and brown ink wash. 22 × 46
Below: Gorges des Pyrénées espagnoles. 12 août. brume et pluie [Gorges in the Spanish Pyrenees. 12 August. Mist and rain].
BIBL: 1894 *A. et P.*, ill. p. 91; M II, 195.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

Hugo used this album on a journey to the Pyrenees in 1843. It contains notes and sketches from life, recopied and revised versions of some notes made during the journey (Massin ed., vi, 843–949), and (as in the case of the sheet now under discussion) drawings cut out of a sketch-book of blue-tinted paper (BN MS. n.a.fr. 13445), finished in ink, laid down and annotated in the album by the artist himself. We cannot yet establish exactly at what date the original arrangement was made. It may partly have been during the visit itself, for we know of a drawing taken from the same blue-tinted sketch-book, possessing the same features as those of this sheet, which is dated 28 July and was sent by Hugo to his daughter Léopoldine as early as 31 July (1971 Georgel, no. 21).

The whole set is unparalleled in Hugo's work up to that time. These very light compositions are far removed from the epic landscapes of the 1840 journey to the Rhine. They represent the beginnings of a less graphic, more liquid, more atmospheric style. The blue-tinted ground and the delicate retouchings in ink wash produce a particularly harmonious effect. The format of the drawings, their placing on the page (especially on other sheets, in which they are intermingled with writing) make them true vignettes. Hugo had a good knowledge of the many vignettes characteristic of French book illustration in the 1830s.

13 [about 1845–1847] ['*Souvenir of the pond in Bellevue woods*']

Pen and brown ink wash laid down on white paper. 115 × 75
On the drawing, bottom left: V. H.–at the bottom of the mounting paper: Souvenir de l'étang du bois de Bellevue. 1845 [Souvenir of the pond in Bellevue woods].

PROV: Coll. Léonie Biard; Marius and Ary Leblond; acquired in 1931.

BIBL: 1862 Chenay album, pl. v; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 8; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 8; M II, 448.

EXHIB: 1930 Paris (1049); 1935 Paris (246); 1951 Geneva (3).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

This drawing belonged to Léonie Biard, Hugo's mistress between the end of 1843 and approximately 1850. The most passionate period of their relationship was in 1844 and 1845 (see J. Gaudon, *Le temps de la contemplation*, Paris, 1969, pp. 460–62). There is little documentation of the development of this affair, which inspired two 'cycles' of drawings and poems (on the latter, see Gaudon, *loc. cit.*, and Massin ed., vii, 435–49). Most of the drawings are '*souvenirs*'–Victor Hugo's own term–and were not necessarily executed on the date mentioned. Nor should one always seek any very precise relation between what the drawings represent and the sites referred to in their titles. In the case of this particular drawing, I think that it is a typical work of about 1847 (see nos. 14–18), but that it does not necessarily represent the pond in Bellevue woods, and that it was probably not drawn from life. It is engraved in the Chenay album under the more general title *Souvenir d'un étang*.

We do not know exactly what '*souvenir*' originated in 1845 at Bellevue (in the outskirts of Paris, near Sèvres). It is possible that Hugo and Léonie Biard went there during a journey they may have made together in September, though almost nothing is known of it. What is certain is that Bellevue and Léonie were associated in Victor Hugo's mind (see a letter of 26 September 1846 [?]: '. . . you fix your mind on that adorable *Tuesday*, on our woods, on our *belle vue* [underlined by Hugo], on our long hours of day-dreaming and talking that so quickly spe[illegible]y' (Massin ed., vii, 777).

I also think the title on the mounting paper is of a later date. The drawing might have been one of those that Hugo inscribed and sent away as presents during the early years of his exile. But, as I am far from having a solution to all the problems posed by the 'Léonie cycle', I must leave till later any more detailed discussion of the matter.

14 1847 [*'Morning'*]

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper, with charcoal scumble, laid down on white paper.
60 × 90
Below, on the mounting paper: MATIN Victor Hugo 1847

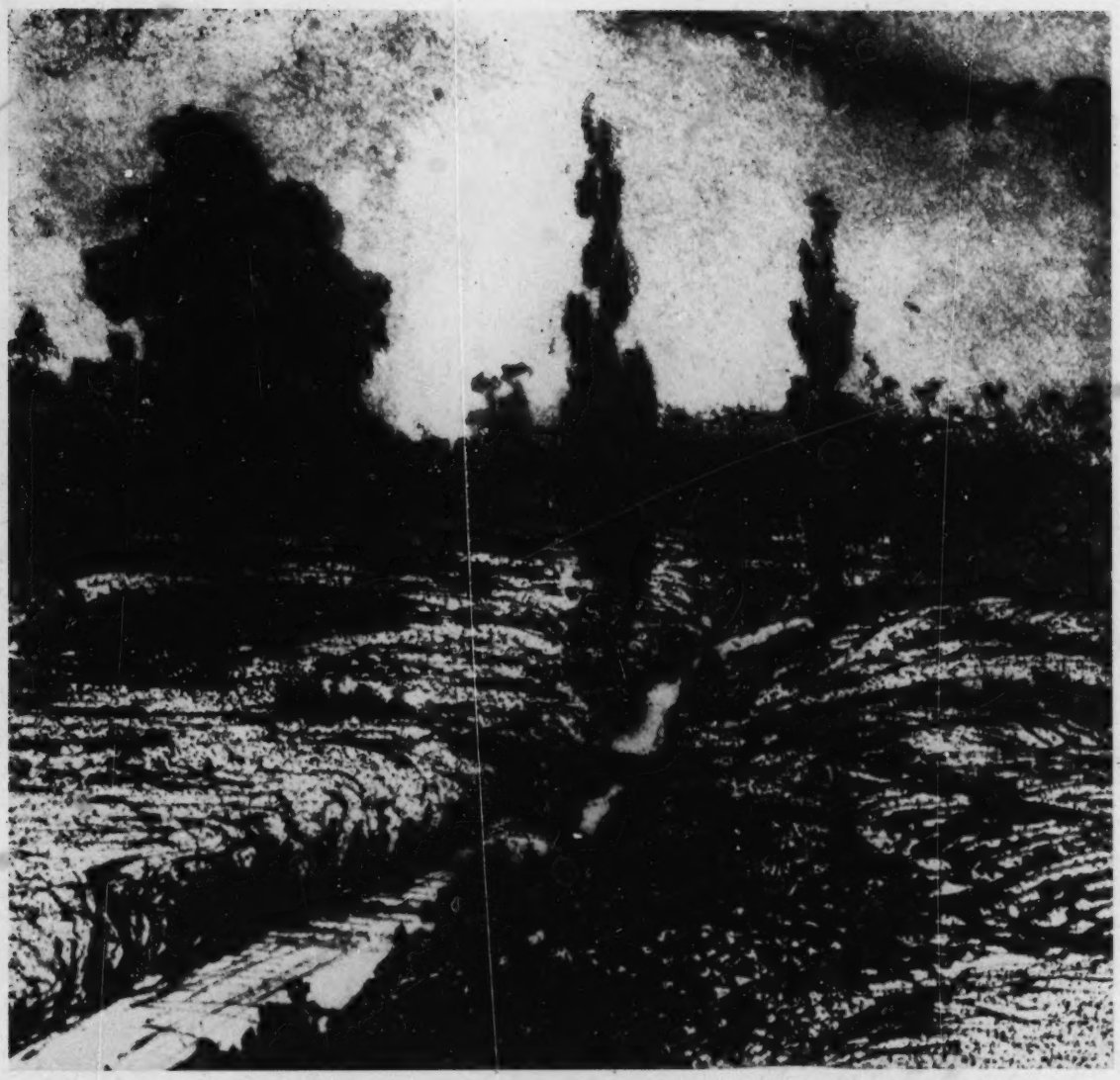
PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1862 Chenay alb., pl. iv; 1884 Hugues ed., *Les Châtiments*, ill. p. 145; 1903 Alexandre, ill. p. 40; 1907 Planès, no. 265; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 28; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 75; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 81; M II, 520.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (73); 1951 Geneva (37); 1953 Paris (685).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

This drawing and three other landscapes dated 1847 (Pierre Duché sale, 20 March 1972, salle 10, no. 27; M II, 530 and 527 [the latter dated by an autograph note by Vacquerie]), together with M II 455 and 450 and Min. 62 (also from 1847), form a nucleus of securely dated works around which we can group a fairly large number of undated pieces (see 1971 Georgel, pp. 82–8; and hereafter, nos. 15–18).



15 [1847] [*A brook*]

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper. 65 × 70

PROV: Coll. Auguste Vacquerie; Mme Ernest Lefèvre; Pierre Lefèvre-Vacquerie.

BIBL: 1862 Chenay alb., pl. i; 1890 Hugues ed., *Le Rhin*, ill. p. 221; Min. 44; 1971 Georgel, no. 25, ill.; 1973 Georgel, ill. fig. 13.

EXHIB: Paris 1888 (27); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (25).

Coll. Mme André Gaveau, Paris

This drawing is roughly contemporary with three dated landscapes (M II, 527, 530 and 520), which share the same theme and technique.

Some of these drawings may well have been inspired by Hugo's short visits to Normandy in November 1846 and October 1847. Indeed, the landscape and atmosphere are very similar to those evoked, for example, by the poem of October 1847, '*Demain, dès l'aube, à l'heure où blanchit la campagne . . .*' (*Les Contemplations*, iv, xiv).

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper. 285 × 448
Bottom right: 27 7bre 1840 LA TOUR DES RATS VICTOR H (The Rats' Tower).

PROV: Coll. Juliette Drouet; Louis Koch; Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1903 Bertaux, ill. p. 477; 1904 Simon, pp. 54–5; 1907 Planès, no. 246; 1925 Geffroy, ill. pl. ii; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 18; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 43; 1955 Sergent, ill. pl. i; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 49; 1962 Lethève, ill. pl. 5; Min. 34; 1964 Delalande, ill. fig. 10; M II, 157.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (139)?; 1919 Paris (15); 1930 Paris (728); 1935 Paris (187); 1951 Geneva (16); 1952 Paris (213); 1953 Paris (658).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

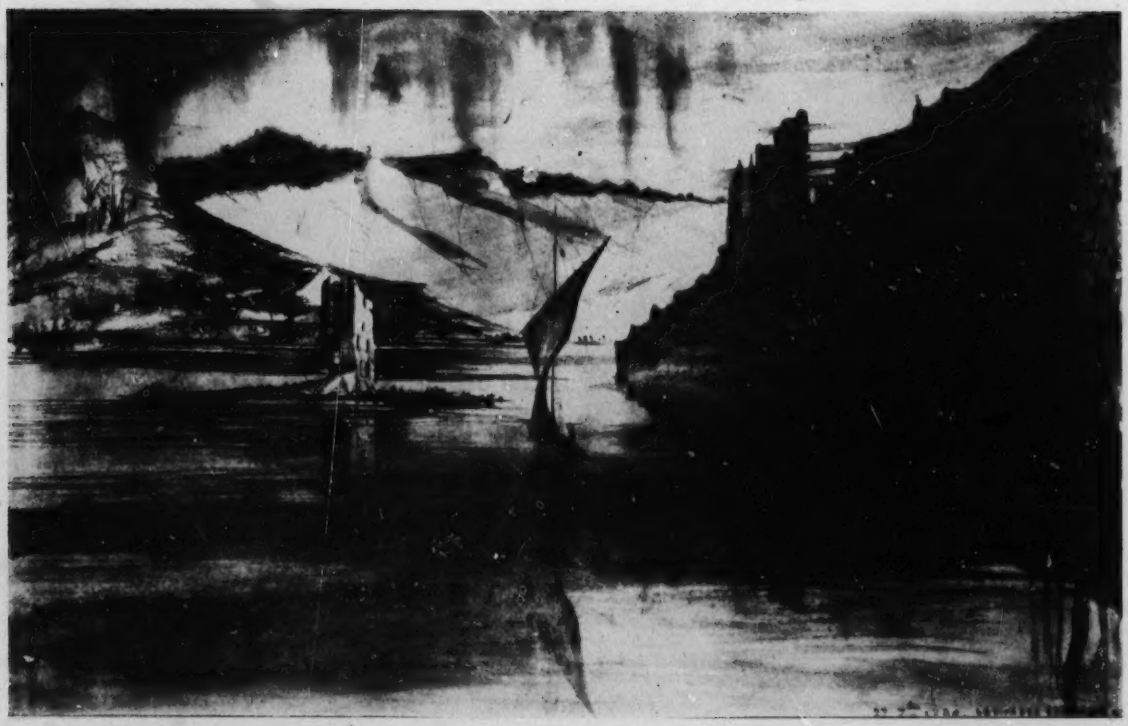
As the inscription indicates, this drawing represents the Rhine at Bingen, with the 'Rats' Tower', as drawn on the spot by Hugo in September 1840 (M II, 154–6). But I do not believe it dates either from that journey or from that year. The style is not that of the 1840 drawings, when Hugo's drawings are characterized by their graphic sharpness, but that of the wash drawings that I have grouped around the works dated 1847 (see nos. 14–18).

On 20 July 1847, Victor Hugo wrote in the *Journal de ce que j'apprends chaque jour* (ed. R. Journet and G. Robert, Paris, 1965, p. 75): 'I have redone the drawing of the *Rhine*.' There must, therefore, have been an earlier version of the drawing. Indeed, we do know of an earlier version of the present drawing, which presents several noticeable variants. We have been unable to find the original itself, but it was engraved by Paul Chenay in 1862 (1862 Chenay alb., pl. vi). The style is clearly that of 1840 (see, in particular, the treatment of the clouds with the pen), and there is every reason to believe that it is a work dating from the journey to the Rhine.

The engraved drawing appears to have belonged to Vacquerie (in a handwritten list of the Hugo drawings belonging to him about 1888, he mentions *Le Fleuve*, which is also the title of Chenay's engraving). On the other hand the drawing exhibited here belonged to Juliette Drouet, and I suggest that it is the same drawing as the *Souvenir du Rhin* exhibited in 1888 as no. 139 in the collection of Juliette's heir, Louis Koch (it cannot be mistaken for the 1857 drawing, also entitled *Souvenir du Rhin* [M II, 460], which appeared under the same title in the 1888 exhibition [no. 11] in the collection of Georges Hugo).

I believe, then, that our no. 16 from Juliette Drouet's collection is the very drawing that was 'redone' in July 1847, and that it was based on that of 1840. I would depart therefore from earlier commentators on Hugo's drawings, who see in this wash the sign of a stylistic development.

Furthermore, I refuse to regard Chenay's engraving as a clumsy reproduction of the Drouet drawing. The differences are too numerous, and Théophile Gautier, in his preface to the Chenay album, wrote of the plate that it was 'engraved by M. Paul Chenay, with such expert accuracy that nothing is lost of the naivety of the original'.



17 [about 1847] [*Landscape*]

Pen and brown ink wash, with charcoal scumble, on white paper laid down on white paper.
125 × 280
Bottom right: V.H. On the left of mount: Jersey 1855; on the right: Aux pieds de Madame Barbier Victor Hugo (At Madame Barbier's feet Victor Hugo).

PROV: Coll. Mme Barbier.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 28, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (28).

Private collection

The date inscribed on the mount is obviously only that of the dedication. This drawing is closely related in style to those of 1847.

18 [about 1847] [*A castle among trees*]

Pen and brown ink wash, with charcoal scumble, on white paper prepared with brown ink wash.
190 × 250
Bottom right a delicate inscription in gouache, which might be read: V HUGO, or V 1848.

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice.

BIBL: Min. 65; M II, 536; 1971 Georgel, no. 27.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (27).

Coll. Mme R. Langlois-Berthelot, Paris

This sheet is to be connected with the group I have assembled around the drawings dated 1847. It may even have been dated 1848 by Hugo. Note the charcoal rubbing in the form of a ribbon in the branches of the trees: the same device is to be found in a drawing dated 1847 (M II, 550).

19 1850 [*Saint Paul*]

Pen and brown ink wash with charcoal scumble on white paper. 620 × 470
Bottom right: Victor Hugo 1850.–Trompe l'oeil inscription on a stretch of wall on the left: NON LIBER MONET/NON GLADIUS SERVAT. On the right of the frame, decorated by Hugo: ULTIM PORT.

PROV: Coll. Juliette Drouet; Louis Koch; Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1903 Alexandre, ill. p. 177; 1907 Planès, no. 256; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 40; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 78; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 95; 1964 Delalande, ill. fig. 88; M I, 492; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 287, ill. fig. 12.

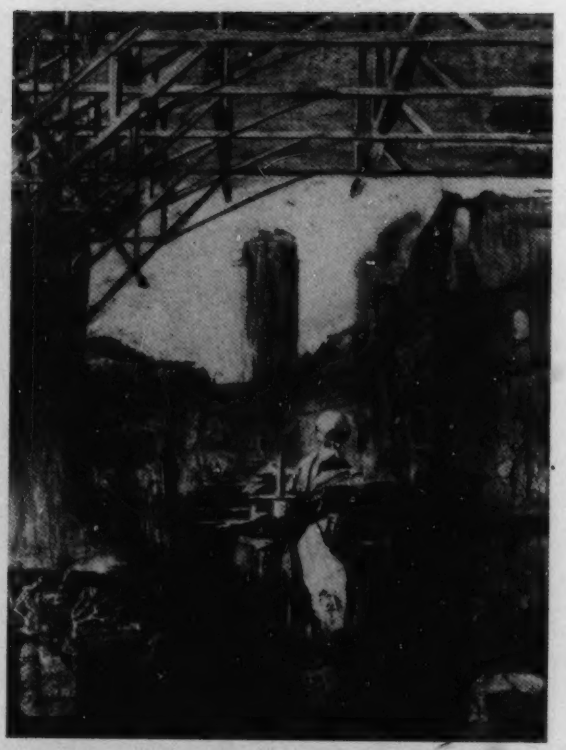
EXHIB: 1951 Geneva (45); 1955 Guernsey (76); 1959 Paris (13).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

The date has hitherto been read, erroneously, as 1860. Like M I 280 (also dated erroneously 1860; see 1971 Georgel, no. 41), it is typical of the year 1850 in both meaning and style. The meaning is obscure. It has been suggested that it is a symbol of Hugo's state of mind in 1850, torn between the temptations of action (the sword) and contemplation (the book), yet doubting both (the Latin inscription expressing the vanity of each) (1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 287). Hugo thus adapted St Paul's traditional iconography to his own personal symbolism. The inscription *Ultim[a]-port[a]* (Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi) on the frame introduces the theme of death.

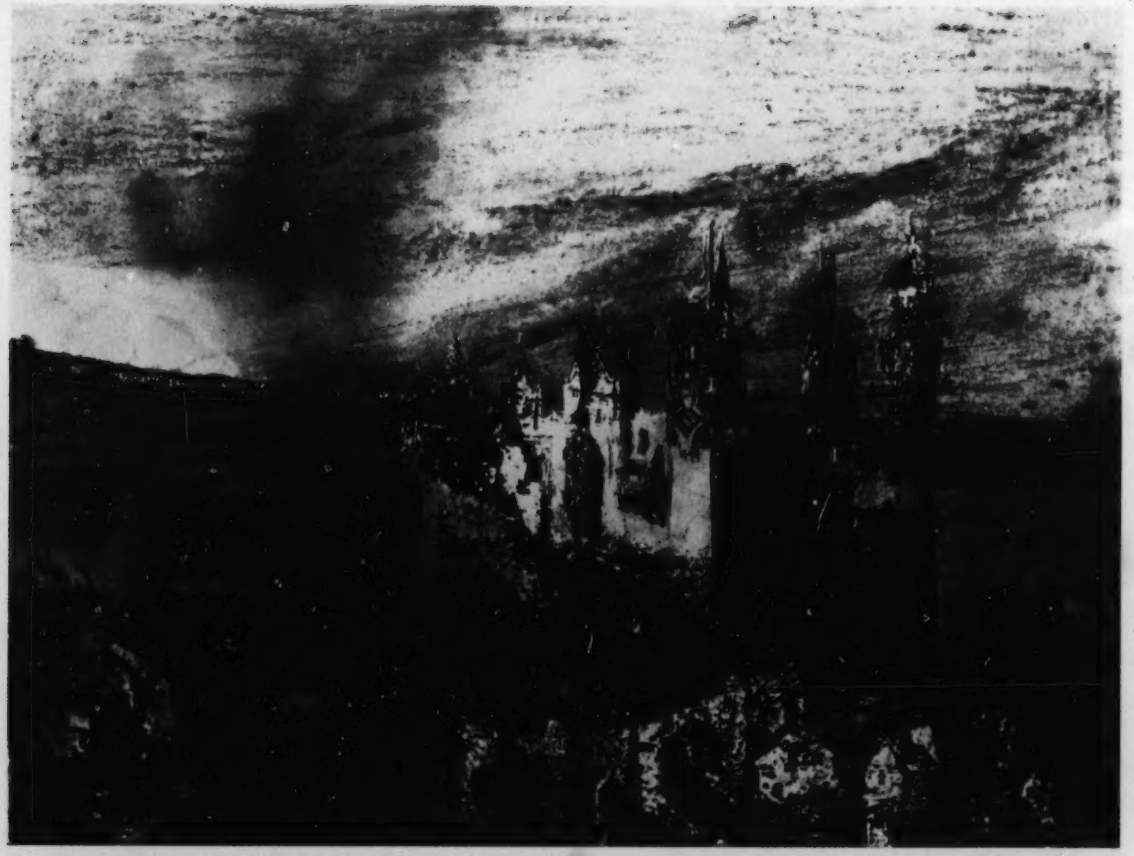
The 'source' of the central figure is an oak statuette that belonged to Hugo before his exile and was later incorporated in the chimney of the Salon des Tapisseries at Hauteville House (ill. *ibid.*, fig. 13).

According to Paul Chenay, Hugo 'had kept [this drawing] in a portfolio' with 'several of those he rightly considered to be his best' (*Victor Hugo à Guernesey, souvenirs de son beau-frère*, Paris, [1902], p. 68; this memory belongs to the year 1859).



Hugo refers to it on two occasions in a notebook of 1860. On 20 December he notes that 'my two large drawings–*Saint Paul* and *Gallia* [M I, 280] have been laid out at J. J.'s [Juliette Drouet's]'; again, on 26 December he writes: 'I have drawn and painted the three frames for *Claire* [a drawing by Pradier], *Le Coq* and *St Paul* for J. J.' (Massin ed., xii, 1352).

NOTE: **20** unexpectedly not available.



21 [1850] [*Castle in a ruined town*]

Sepia wash, charcoal and gouache on white paper partly scraped. 450 × 600

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Ozenne-Meurice; President Albert Buisson.

BIBL: 1890 Hugues ed., *Le Rhin*, ill. p. 161; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 32; Min. 76; 1971 Georgel, no. 34, ill.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (71); 1919 Paris (40); 1935 Paris (224); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (34).

Coll. M. François Albert-Buisson, Paris

Obviously contemporary with the *Burg à la Croix* of 1850 (M II, 551). This work probably derives in part from memories of Spain. See the two drawings explicitly entitled *Espagne, un de mes châteaux* (1847; M II, 455) and *Souvenir d'Espagne* (1850; M II, 456): they contain the same highly worked decorative elements, stuck on to austere walls – a characteristic of Spanish architecture that seems to have struck Hugo. This drawing has sometimes been entitled *Le château de Don Ruy Gomez*.

22 [1850] [*Fountain*]

Brown ink wash, charcoal and white gouache on white paper. 450 × 600
Bottom left: VICTOR HUGO.

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice.

BIBL: 1903 Bertaux, p. 164, ill. p. 163; Min. 68; M II, 542; 1971 Georgel, no. 35, repr.; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 287, ill. fig. 10.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (58); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (35).

Coll. Mme Philippe Devinat, Paris

'A small sixteenth-century Italian salt-cellar, which Victor Hugo valued highly and which he had stuck on to a china dado in the dining-room [at Hauteville House], was enlarged in a drawing that M. Meurice kept for his children. With its bowl supported by women's torsos, the precious knick-knack became a fountain rising out of still water, in which an assembly of ghostly trees was reflected' (E. Bertaux, informed by P. Meurice, 1903). See the photograph of the salt-cellar in Georgel, *Sources*, fig. 11.

NOTE: **23–4** unexpectedly not available.

III 1852–1860

In 1850 Hugo's repressed creativity had become concentrated in the drawings, saturating them with meaning and imbuing them with extreme tension. At the beginning of exile, the torrent of words was unleashed once more, and not only did the drawings become fewer, but they lost their exceptional complexity and, often, their density.

In 1852 Hugo retreated to the Channel Islands; his visual world became enriched almost to the point of obsession with the spectacle of the sea. But this grandiose, monotonous horizon never changed. As a result, the graphic work moved further and further away from the real in an attempt to catch the kaleidoscope of sea, rock and cloud, or to reflect the ebb and flow of an imaginary world in which shapes could form and dissolve in an instant.

There were few or no drawings in 1852 and 1853, years of intense literary work, sustained by an almost uninterrupted self-confidence. They reappear when Hugo submerged *Les Contemplations* beneath a flood of metaphysical poetry, and pursued, from sketch to sketch, the grand impossible project of *Dieu* and *La Fin de Satan*.

A rough chronological approximation reveals, between this literary work and the graphic work of the same years, resemblances and analogies. On the one hand, there is a small number of compositions based on a real sight (a break-water, a watch-tower, a hanged man), extraordinary for their economy and concentration, and dramatically frozen in their chiaroscuro. On the other hand, there is a fluid, formless mass, susceptible to exploration and chance effects. Here one finds drawings 'dictated' by moving tables, albums full of fantastic scribblings, cut-outs, impressions,

and blots, which sometimes make us wonder whether they are figurative or not, whether they are finished works or rough sketches, or a form of creation on the ambiguous frontier between art and non-art.

A new burst of energy erupted about 1855–57. In 1857, for a few months, Hugo's thought seemed to waver or retreat into itself, there was a pause in the writing, from which it was to surge forth again full of affirmation and vigour. Then, as in 1850, the drawings recaptured an essential place for themselves. In theme and style the 1857 series foreshadows the poetic explosion of 1857–60, just as the drawings of 1850 prepared the way for 'the time of contemplation'. The experiments of the preceding years, which had often remained at a very rudimentary stage, were integrated and distributed into strong structures. His imagination recovered its former power and found immediate expression in drawing. Driven by a similar impulse, Hugo turned from the ebbing flowing motion that characterized his graphic work in 1855–56 to the more structured compositions of 1857–58, from the uninterrupted poetry of *Dieu* to the perfection of the *Petites Épopées*.

A resumption of travel was to fertilize this outburst of energy. During the earliest years in Guernsey, walks in the Channel Islands had inspired some lively sketches. But above all, from 1861, he annually spent the summer months travelling on the continent. Like the novels – and, first and foremost, *Les Misérables*, which had been abandoned since 1848 and was finished at last in 1861–62 – and like some new poems (especially some to be included in *La Légende des siècles*), the drawings were nourished by these travels.

25 [1853–1855] [*Two impressions from a cut-out paper disc*]

Washed with blue watercolour and black ink, with two circular impressions of a paper disc on white paper. 379 × 241

PROV: Hugo Estate; coll. Valentine Hugo.

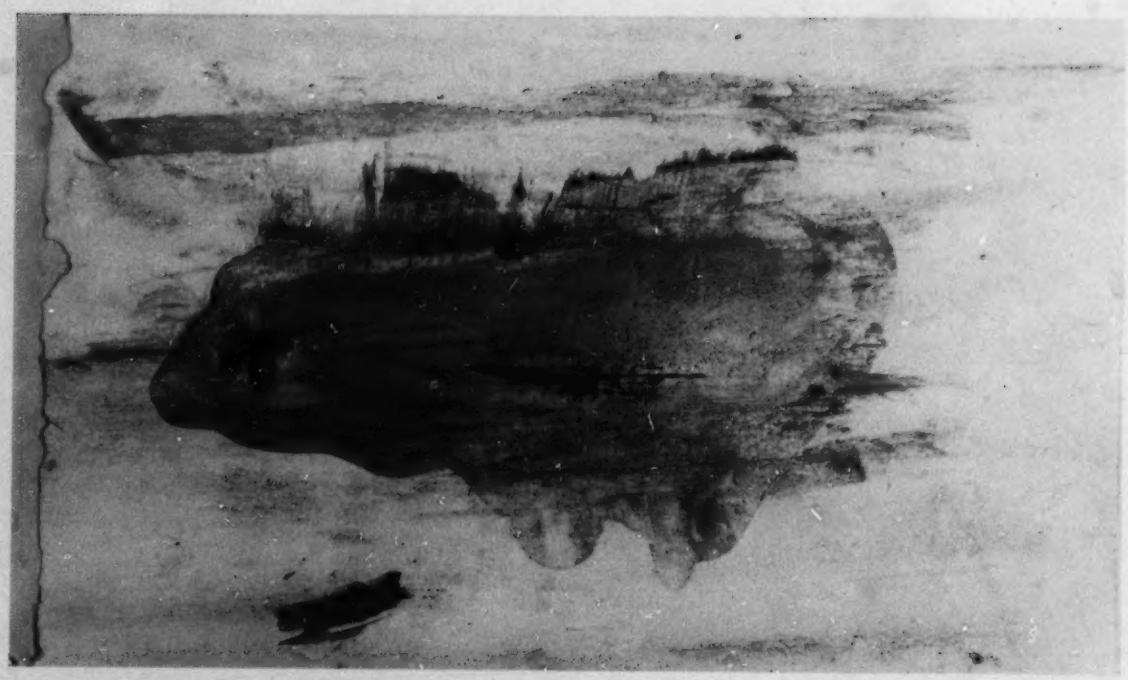
BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 57, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (57).

Private collection

From 1850 Hugo made frequent use of discs to reserve and draw in the moon.

Compare, from the point of view of technique and materials, with no. 27. See, too, the planet reserved and drawn in MI 496, on a paper used in 1854–55 (1963 J and R, p. 15).



26 [1853–1855] [*Cloud-like form*]

Impression printed in blue gouache on a ground composed of trails of black ink and blue watercolour. 145 × 233

PROV: Hugo Estate; coll. Valentine Hugo.

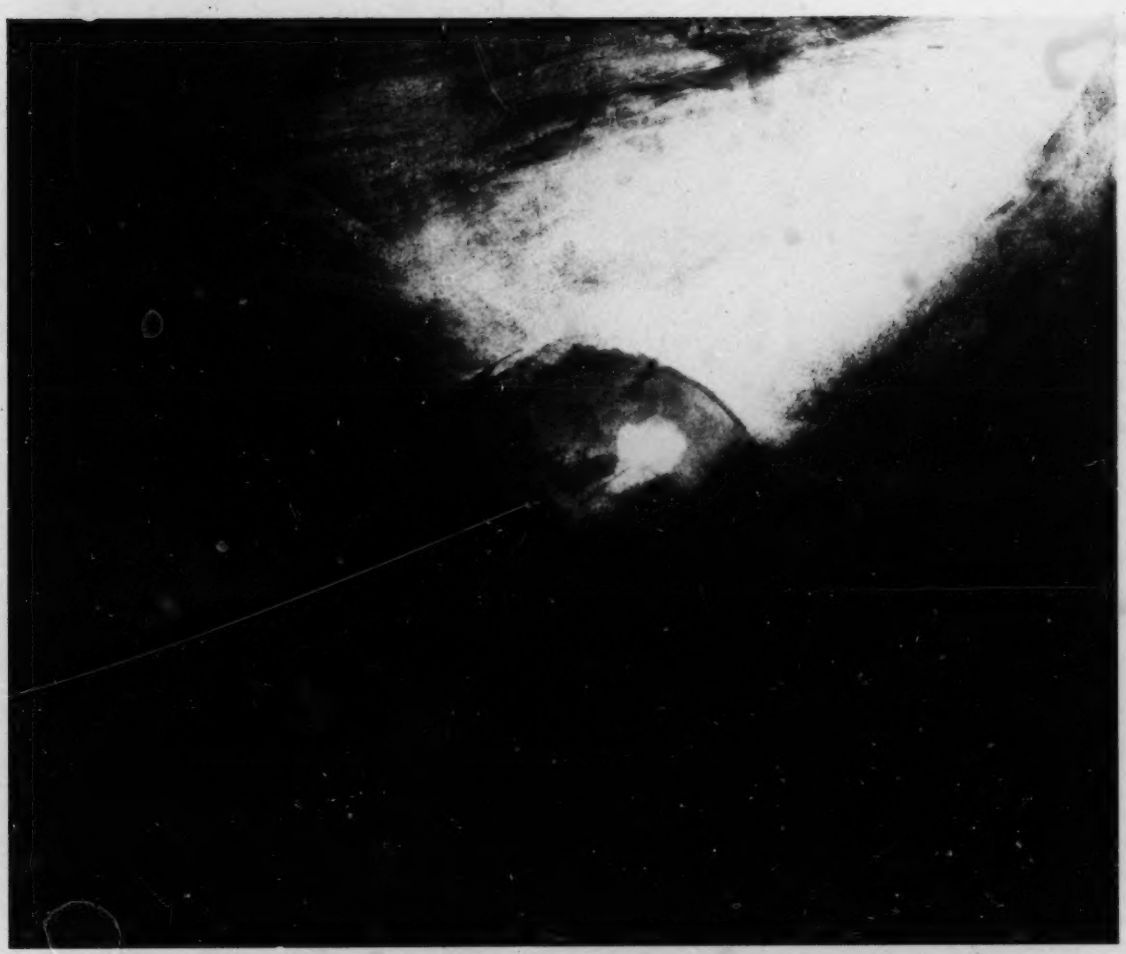
BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 55.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (55).

Private collection

This drawing must have begun as a piece of paper on which Hugo tried out colours and a stencil. Then he began to see the resultant shape as a cloud in the sky, which he completed as a sort of animal.

The materials, which he hardly ever used again at a later date, are to be found in an album dated 'Jersey 1853' (private collection), but the paper is not the same. The blue watercolour is used in no. 28 (1854). Compare also the shape of the imprint with that of the cloud obtained by stencilling in M II 561 (1854). Finally, compare with M II 681, undated but obviously contemporary.



27 [about 1854] [*Planet-like form*]

Pen and indian ink wash on white paper.
310×372

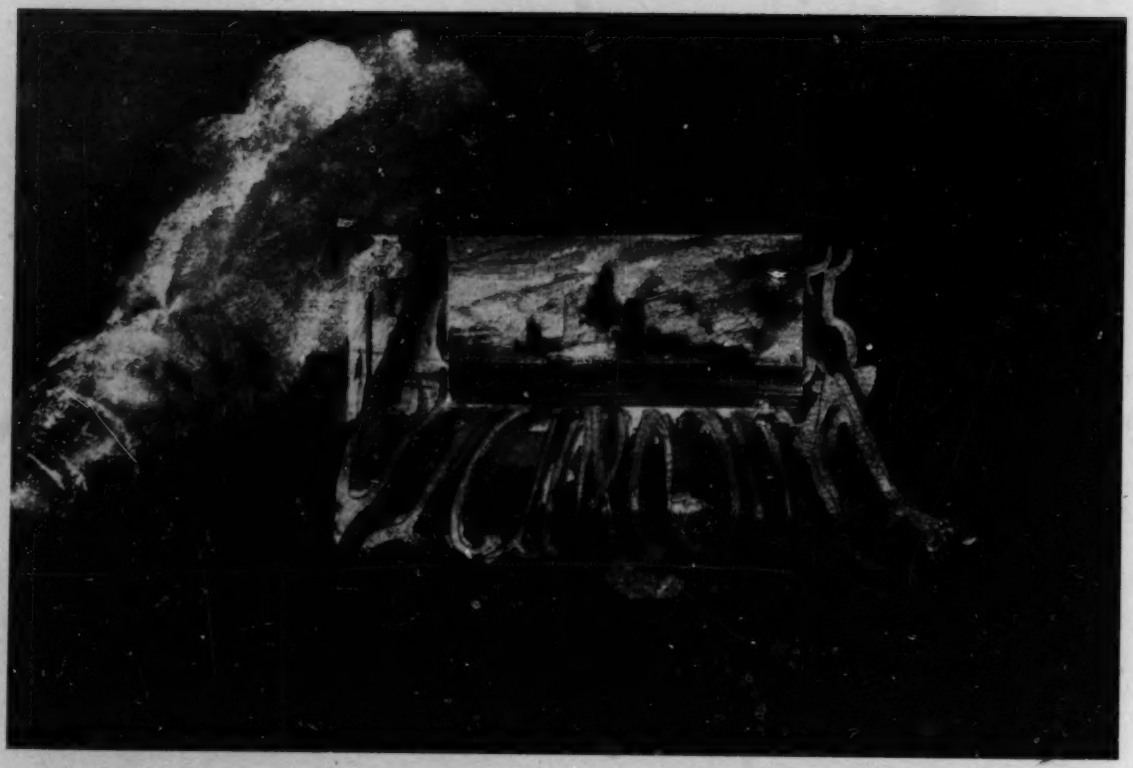
PROV: Hugo Estate; coll. Valentine Hugo.

BIBL: Min. 275; 1971 Georgel, no. 60.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (478); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (60); 1972 Paris (26).

Private collection

Probably contemporary with no. 25 and 1971 Georgel, nos. 58–9.



28 [late 1854] [*A visiting card*]

Black wash, touched with charcoal, white gouache and blue watercolour, on white paper, scraped in parts. 140 × 215
In the middle of the wash is stuck a small landscape, executed in pen and ink on white paper, around which appear the words: VICTOR HUGO (the second word inverted) and JER [. . .] 55 [Victor Hugo, Jersey, 1855].

PROV: Hugo Estate.

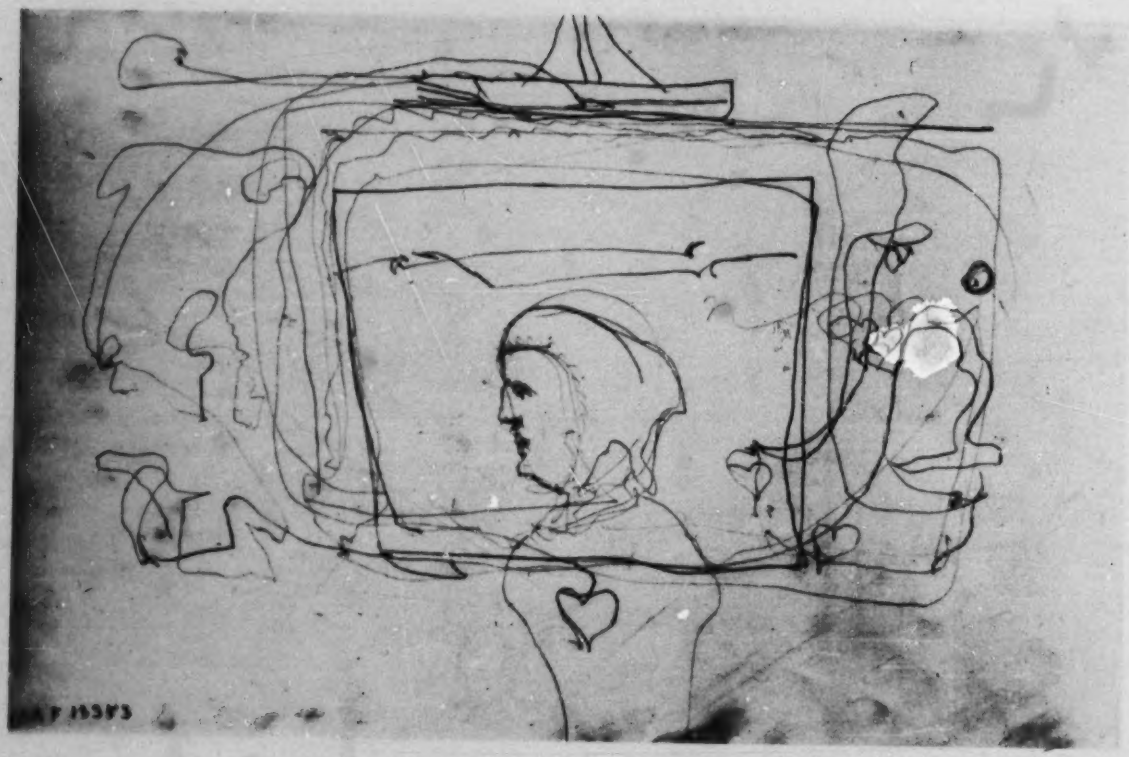
BIBL: M II, 1023; 1971 Georgel, no. 54, ill.

EXHIB: 1930 Paris (1059); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (54); 1972 Paris (22).

Coll. M. Jean Hugo, Lunel

On New Year's Day of every year, during his exile, Hugo sent to a number of friends what he called his 'visiting card': the letters of his name spread out in the middle of a composition. See, from the same year: M II 1015 and a drawing in the album of Delphine de Girardin [preparatory study: M II, 103].

The special technique of this drawing makes it a valuable chronological marker. The Prussian blue, the white gouache disposed in cloudy volumes, the style of the printed letters, make it possible, with the help of other clues, to regroup about 1854–55 a 'cluster' of works with similar technique and materials.



29 [April 4 1854] [*Drawings 'dictated' by a moving table*]

Two drawings, pencil on white paper. Each drawing 290 × 420

1 [without inscription]

2 [the disposition of the inscriptions on the sheet are as follows:]

jai peint (I painted) Etadartemetadfamiliam et artem

jai peint (I painted)
tu doutais (you doubted)
tu doutais (you doubted)
non la (not the)
douleur (pain)

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13353, fol. 15 v°–16 r° (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: M I, 336–37.

Bibliothèque Nctionale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

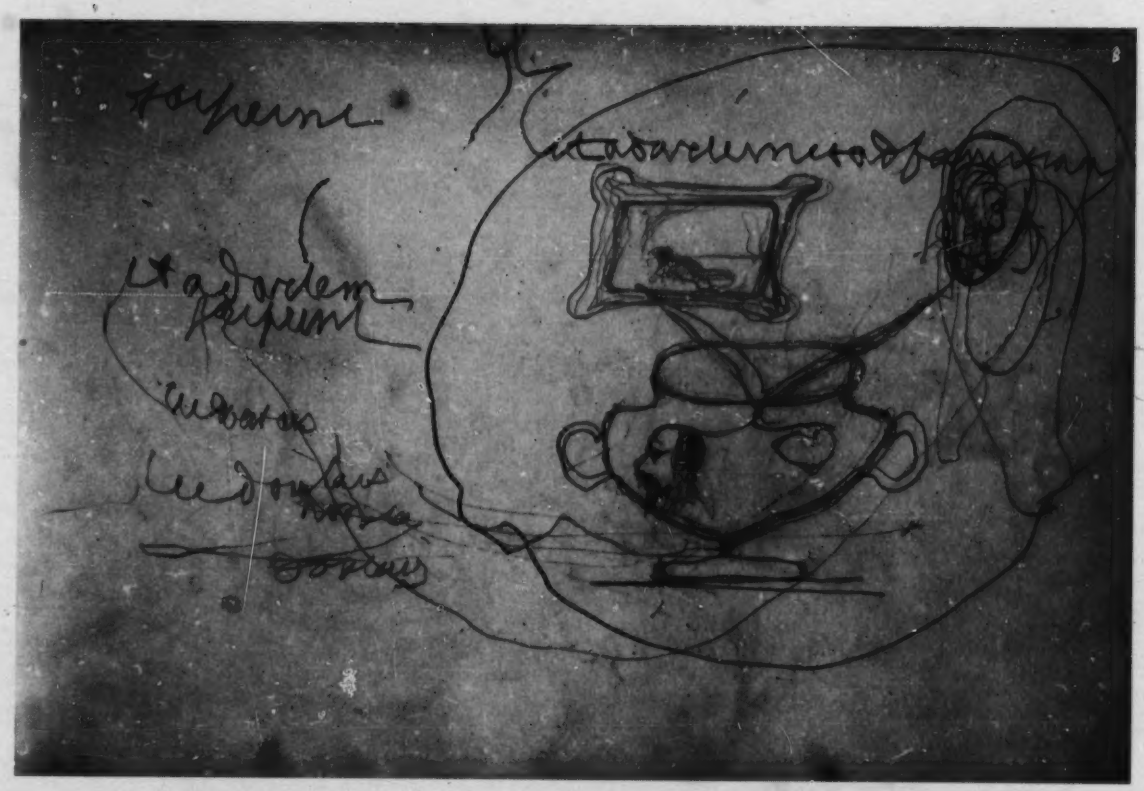
These drawings were 'drawn' by a moving table.

The album exhibited is the one the records of the table-turning sessions contained in the *Livre des tables* refer to as 'the album of drawings'.

The two drawings presented are mentioned specifically in the *Livre des tables*. They were executed by 'a three-legged table, one of whose legs is a pencil', on 4 April 1854. Gathered around the table were Victor Hugo, his wife, his sons, Auguste Vacquerie and one of their companions in exile, Théophile Guérin.

'. . . Guérin asked the table if it would also like to draw what he was thinking about.

It drew a woman whose heart was visible – then a ship. Then it connected the woman's heart to the side of the ship with a thread. Guérin, very moved, said that it was exactly what he was thinking. He was asked what he was thinking. He did not want to say. (In 1852, Guérin was 'transported' on the ship, Le Duguesclin. *We suppose that the drawing linked together the heart of Guérin's mother and the hull of the ship.)*



Aug. Vacquerie – Would you draw what I am thinking?
– Yes.

It drew a woman's medallion and a picture, and at the bottom Auguste Vacquerie's profile, which it connected to both the medallion and the picture. Over the portrait it wrote: de arte ad familiam. (*The picture was like a* Christ on the Mount of Olives *by Eugène Delacroix that belonged to Auguste Vacquerie.*)

Aug. Vacquerie – That's not what I was thinking.
– No.
– Why didn't you draw what I was thinking?
– You doubted.
– If I doubt, you have a simple enough way of making me believe. And that's to draw what I asked.
– I can't.
– You did it for Madame Hugo and for Guérin.
– They didn't doubt . . .' (trans. from Massin ed., ix, 1349).

[The *Christ on the Mount of Olives* in the Vacquerie collection is reproduced in P. Georgel, *Delacroix et Auguste Vacquerie*, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français*, 1968, fig. 4.]

30 [1854] [*A hanged man*]

Sepia wash touched with white gouache on white paper. The silhouette of the hanged man was probably obtained by means of a paper stencil.
490 × 320
Bottom left: Victor Hugo; bottom right: ECCE LEX V. H.

PROV: Hugo Estate; given with Hauteville House to the city of Paris by Mme Négreponte, Mlle Marguerite Hugo, MM. Jean and François Hugo, 1927.

BIBL: 1903 Bertaux, p. 150, n. 2; 1928 Weiss, p. 35; 1947 Delalande, p. 33 and pl. x; 1955 Sergent, pl. xxii; Min. 104; 1964 Delalande, fig. 56; M I, 499; 1971 Georgel, no 63, ill.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (2); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (63).

Hauteville House, Guernsey

Hugo made four versions of a famous drawing of a hanged man (1971 Georgel, nos. 61–4). It seems he used the same paper stencil each time to obtain the man's silhouette.

One of these versions (M I, 502) was engraved in 1860 by Paul Chenay. This is the version in the Louvre, legibly dated, on the original: 'Jersey 1854'. Another (Budapest, Fine Art Museum; M I, 501) carries the same reference. The other two (Maison de Victor Hugo [M I, 500] and this one) differ only in detail and I can see no reason to attribute them to a different date. It is not possible to establish the order in which the four versions were executed.

The date 1854 coincides with that of an affair that was to disturb the poet's conscience for a long time to come. A criminal named Tapner had been condemned to death in Guernsey. This sentence, reawakening Hugo's obsession with crime and punishment, inspired him to make an appeal for clemency, which proved ineffective (Massin ed., ix, 523–29): Tapner was hanged on 10 February. Hugo immediately renewed his protest in a *Letter to Lord Palmerston*, the Home Secretary, in which he described in detail the circumstances of the execution.

Everything leads one to believe that the *Hanged Man* series originated in this event. Indeed, Paul Chenay says quite definitely that 'Victor . . ., after a similar execution [a hanging], carried out in England, once made a highly dramatic, emotional drawing that fully expressed his anger and indignation' (*Victor Hugo à Guernesey, souvenirs de son beau-frère*, Paris, 1902, p. 70). The drawing referred to here is the Louvre version. Hugo used the same image six years later in identical circumstances: the hanging of John Brown at Charlestown. 'He remembered this sheet,' wrote Chenay, 'and for him, and for us all, it became John Brown' (*ibid.*). So he had one of the 1854 drawings engraved with a date, 1860, and a title, *John Brown*, which gave it new circumstantial value. But a Latin inscription develops the 1854 inscription (*Ecce*): *Pro Christo sicut Christus.*

On the history of the engraving, its distribution and its fortune, which was considerable, see Paul Chenay, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–79; Maurice Clouard, *Notes sur les dessins de Victor Hugo*, *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 15 July 1898; Jean Sergent, *Notice sur trois dessins de Victor Hugo* [. . .], Paris, 1953; J.-L. Mercié, *Victor Hugo et Julie Chenay*, Paris, 1967, pp. 95–110; 1969 Georgel, pp. 30–3.

31 [about 1854] [*A break-water at Jersey*]

Brown and Indian ink wash and charcoal touched with white gouache on white paper. 286 × 456

PROV: Coll. Juliette Drouet; Louis Koch; Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1893 Hugues ed., *L'archipel de la Manche*, ill. p. xlv; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 86; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 193; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 201; Min. 84; M II, 635; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, pp. 282–83, ill. fig. 3.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (103, in fact 105); 1930 Paris (864); 1935 Paris (262); 1951 Geneva (88); 1952 Paris (369); 1955 Guernsey (23); 1959 Paris (2).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

The motif represented is a break-water, known as 'the dick', near Hugo's house at Jersey. It was also drawn by Jules Laurens during his visit to Jersey in 1855 (1973 Georgel, repr. fig. 115). Hugo describes it in *William Shakespeare* (1864): 'The dick was a line of huge tree trunks backing on to a wall, rearing up out of the sand, emaciated, with knots, joints, knuckles, like a row of shin bones. When musing idly on the sight, one might well wonder to what men those three fathom high shin bones could have belonged' (trans., Massin ed., xii, 158).

The drawing was based on a photograph, or to be more precise its negative (1971 Georgel, *Sources*, ill. fig. 4). Between 1853 and 1855 Charles Hugo and Auguste Vacquerie, then living at Victor Hugo's house in Jersey, took up photography in a very active way and the poet followed their experiments with great interest. This 'source' suggests that Hugo was able to gain inspiration, in his drawings of this period, from the effects of transparency and the fantastic lighting peculiar to photographic negatives.

The photograph used dates from 1853 or 1854. The style is certainly that of other drawings of this period that are either dated, or that can be dated with certainty (see nos. 30 and 32, and M II, 557, 631, 634, 642).

The same motif can be found in a drawing bearing the inscription TORQVEMADA (M II, 783), which has been placed around 1869 (Min. 298), because Hugo's play of the same name was written in that year. But the drawing is definitely in the Jersey style. Furthermore, Hugo was very interested in the character of Torquemada at this time (conversation of 23 November 1853, recounted by his daughter Adèle in her *Journal*, ed. F. V. Guille, ii, Paris, 1971, p. 357).

32 [about 1855]
[*An observation post in Jersey*]

Pen and Indian ink wash over rubbed charcoal, touched with gouache on white paper. 450 × 300
Bottom left: Victor Hugo Marine Terrace.
On the frame, decorated and signed by Hugo: Jersey – Marine Terrace.

PROV: Framed and exhibited by Hugo, probably in 1859, in the billiard room at Hauteville House; Hugo Estate; coll. Jean Hugo; acquired in 1972.

BIBL: 1903 Bertaux, p. 150, n. 2; 1947 Delalande, pp. 30–1; Min. 105; M II, 640; 1971 Georgel, no. 71, ill.; 1973 Georgel, no. 132, ill. fig. 41.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (9); 1952 Paris (371); 1971–72 Villequier (71); 1972 Paris (19).

Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins

Probably a wooden observation post in Jersey. The same subject, treated in a similar way, is to be found in a miscellany in the BN (M II, 639). Very close to other 'views' of Jersey (M II, 631, 634, 635, 638, 642; 1971 Georgel, no. 66; see also, the four drawings of *A Hanged Man* [no. 30]).

The image of the bird is copied from an engraving by Bracquemond after Jules Laurens (1855) sent to Hugo by Laurens in 1855 (1973 Georgel, ill. fig. 40).

33 21 May 1855
['*Marine Terrace*' *with initials*]

Pen and sepia wash with touches of gouache and rubbed charcoal on white paper. 410 × 330
Bottom left: MARINE TERRACE Victor Hugo 21 mai 1855; in the sky, the initials VH and JD intertwined.

PROV: Coll. Juliette Drouet?; Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice; Mme R. Langlois-Berthelot.

BIBL: Min. 103; M II, 1016; 1971 Georgel, no. 68, ill.; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, pp. 281–82.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (368); 1955 Guernsey (32); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (68).

Coll. Mme Philippe Devinat, Paris

The intertwined initials are those of Victor Hugo and Juliette Drouet, his mistress. The house represented is that of 'Marine Terrace', the Hugo family house in Jersey.

This drawing – one of the largest of the Jersey period – may relate to two poems Hugo had just completed: *Solitudines Coeli*, an act of faith on the part of the poet in his own religion, and, more particularly, *Les Mages*, an apotheosis of the '*poètes vainqueurs*'. It is a striking affirmation of the Hugolian self.

To represent Marine Terrace, Hugo used a photograph taken by his son Charles in 1853 or 1854. There are – unusually – several preparatory studies of the image of the house (1972 Paris, nos. 23–4). They show Hugo trying to represent Marine Terrace from different viewpoints, before settling for the photographic image.

There is also a study of the intertwined initials (1972 Paris, no. 25). The complicated forms of these initials – in which, in the J of Juliette, appears the image of the serpent – which psychoanalysis associates with that of the woman – seem to me to foreshadow the indented outlines of the sketchbook of March–April 1856 (no. 42) and certain decorative experiments at Hauteville House.

34 1855 [*Imaginary landscape*]

Pen and brown wash and rubbed charcoal on white paper. 245 × 384
Bottom left: Victor Hugo – Jersey. 1855.

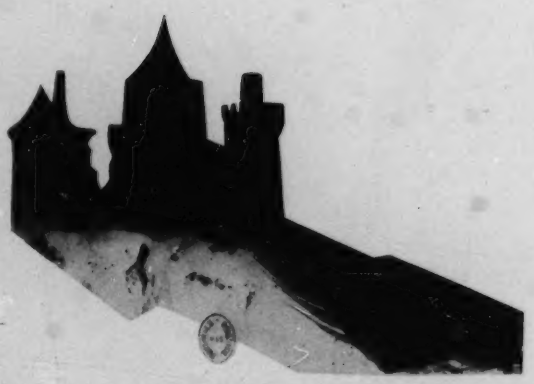
PROV: Gift of Mr Peter Josten, 1964.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. (USA)

An important unpublished drawing, related in style and subject to the views of imaginary castles, dating from the same period, such as M II, 557, 561, 593, 594.
This drawing proved to be too fragile to travel, the paper being in places corroded by the ink, and it is therefore represented in the exhibition by a photograph.

35 [1855] [*Paper silhouette of a castle*]

Cut out paper marked with charcoal and ink.
92 × 137



BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13351, fol. 34 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, p. 30; M II, 863; 1971 Georgel, *Collections*, ill. fig. 17.

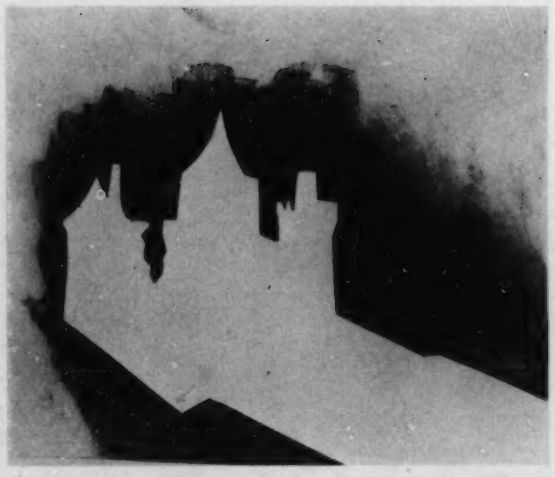
EXHIB: 1971 Mâcon (65)?

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

This paper, cut out from no. 36, was used to stencil in the outline of the castle in nos. 43 and 50. It is worth noting that the use of this paper, as of that from which it was cut out, continues, after the dates of the drawings for which they were used, from 1855 to 1857.

Laid down on the same sheet of paper as nos. 36, 44, 52.

See the article by Georges Herscher, *Papiers découpés de Victor Hugo*, *L'Oeil*, no. 107, November 1969, pp. 34–9.



36 [1855]
[*Paper out of which no. 35 was cut*]

Paper stencil used with charcoal. 122 × 151

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr.13351, fol. 34 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, p. 30; Min. 118; M II, 863.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

This cut-out was used to stencil in the outline of of the castle in no. 37.

Laid down (wrong side up) on the same sheet as nos. 35, 44, 52.

37 Dec. 1855 [*'Twilight'*]

Brown wash and white gouache on white paper; outline of the castle obtained by a paper stencil.
102 × 290
At the bottom: Victor Hugo Guernesey xbre 1855. CREPVSCVLE (Twilight). In a scroll under the drawing: *A mon cher et vaillant ami, Paul Meurice. Victor Hugo Hauteville House Guernesey 1er janvier 1856.*

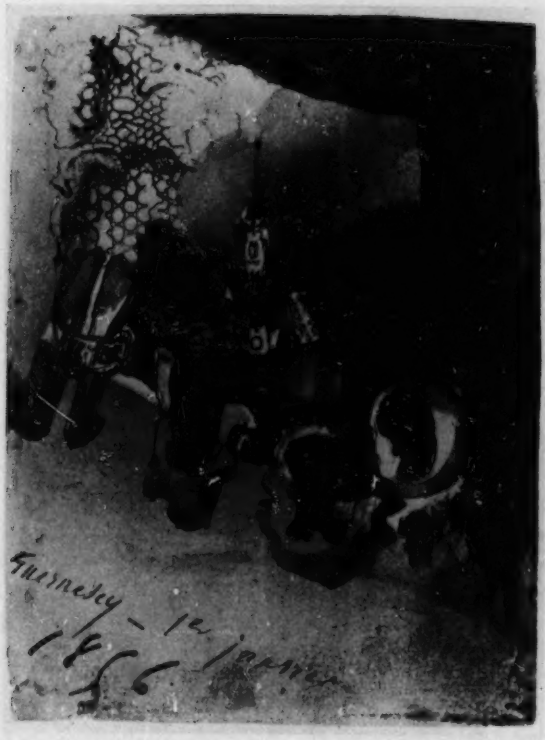
PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1904 Simon, p. 58; 1907 Planès, no. 230; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 85; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 96; Min. 120; M II, 559.

EXHIB: 1930 Paris (294 or 755 or 1038); 1951 Geneva (44); 1955 Guernsey (71); 1959 Paris (14).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

The paper stencil used is no. 36.



38 1st January 1856 [*A visiting card*]

Pen and brown wash, watercolour, gouache, rubbed charcoal, with an impression taken from a piece of lace, on white paper. 132 × 97
In the body of the drawing, in large letters: HUGO, and, in the cross-stroke of the H: VICTOR
Bottom left: Guernesey – 1er janvier 1856.

PROV: This drawing may have come from George B. C. Leversen. Sale, London, Sotheby's, 23 July 1962.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 73, ill.

The John Rylands University Library of Manchester

A 'visiting card' for the New Year (see nos. 28 and 59).

The dating of this item is very valuable because it enables us to situate about the end of 1855 and the beginning of 1856 the different drawings and so called 'shavings' for which Hugo used the same piece of lace (nos. 39, 40, 41; M II, 880–88 and 977; 1971 Georgel, no. 75; Paris 1972, nos. 30 and 32). Indeed, it is unlikely that this fragile piece was used long beyond this date.

39 [1855–1856] ['*Les Orientales*']

Pen and brown wash with touches of charcoal, gold and red and green ink, and an impression taken from a piece of lace, and gum on white paper. 178 × 110
Bottom right: LES ORIENTALES; the initials VH are stencilled on the bottom left.

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13351, fol. 8 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, p. 27; Min. 138; M II, 774.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (378); 1971 Mâcon (64).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

About the lace impression, which enables us to date approximately this drawing, see no. 38.

About 1856, twenty-seven years after the poems *Les Orientales*, and nineteen after the 1837 series of drawings on oriental subjects (see no. 10), oriental buildings reappear in Hugo's drawings (see 1971 Georgel, no. 97, dated 1856). It is remarkable that this graphic inspiration should precede the 'little epics' inspired by the 'oriental thrones', which were not written before 1858. The only oriental poem written in 1856 is *Le Bey outragé* (published in 1883).

40 [1855–1856]
[*Landscape with lace impressions*]

Brown wash and impressions of lace printed in brown ink and white gouache on white paper.
122 × 274

PROV: Hugo Estate; coll. Valentine Hugo.

BIBL: Min. 132; 1971 Georgel, no. 74, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (74).

Private collection

This work was created by pressing between two sheets of paper some patches of ink and a piece of lace soaked in ink and gouache. The other sheet is no. 41.

41 [1855–1856]
[*Landscape with lace impressions*]

Brown ink wash and an impression of lace printed in brown ink and white body-colour on white paper. 120×378

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13351, fol. 37 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, p. 20, repr. pl. 13; Min. 133; M II, 884.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

See no. 40.

Pencil on white paper. 150×90

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13447, fol. 27 (1960 Solente, p. 57).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1959 J and R, p. 35, ill. pl. 21; Min. 180; M I, 386.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

This sketchbook, begun on 15 March 1856, and 'closed on April 18', seems to have been the first of a series of small pocket sketchbooks, nine of which are known to us:

1) Edited by R. Journet and G. Robert [1959 J and R] and M I, 343–414.

2) A sketchbook 'bought on April 19 1856', sold at the Lucien-Graux sale, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 4 June 1957, no. 54-I; studied by J.-B. Barrère, *La Fantaisie de Victor Hugo*, ii, Paris, 1960, p. 153 ff. [a revised version of which is in Barrère's article, 'Dessins de Victor Hugo dans deux carnets de la collection Lucien-Graux', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, September 1961, pp. 161–72] and J.-B. Barrère, *Victor Hugo's interest in the grotesque in his poetry and drawing*, in *French Nineteenth-Century Painting and Literature*, ed. U. Finke, Manchester, 1972, pp. 258–59.

3) A sketchbook 'bought on August 19 1856' (Private collection, Paris).

4) A sketchbook used from 1857 to February 1858 (Harvard University, Houghton Library; published by J. Seebacher, M I, 415–35).

5) A sketchbook 'bought on January 18 1858' (Lucien-Graux sale, *loc. cit.*, no. 54-II; studied by J.-B. Barrère, *op. cit.*).

6) A sketchbook 'begun on Feb. 15 1858' (Lucien-Graux sale, *loc. cit.*, no. 54-III).

7) A sketchbook 'begun on June 25 1858' (*ibid.*, no. 54-IV).

8) A sketchbook 'begun on Dec. 4 1858' (*ibid.*, no. 54-V).

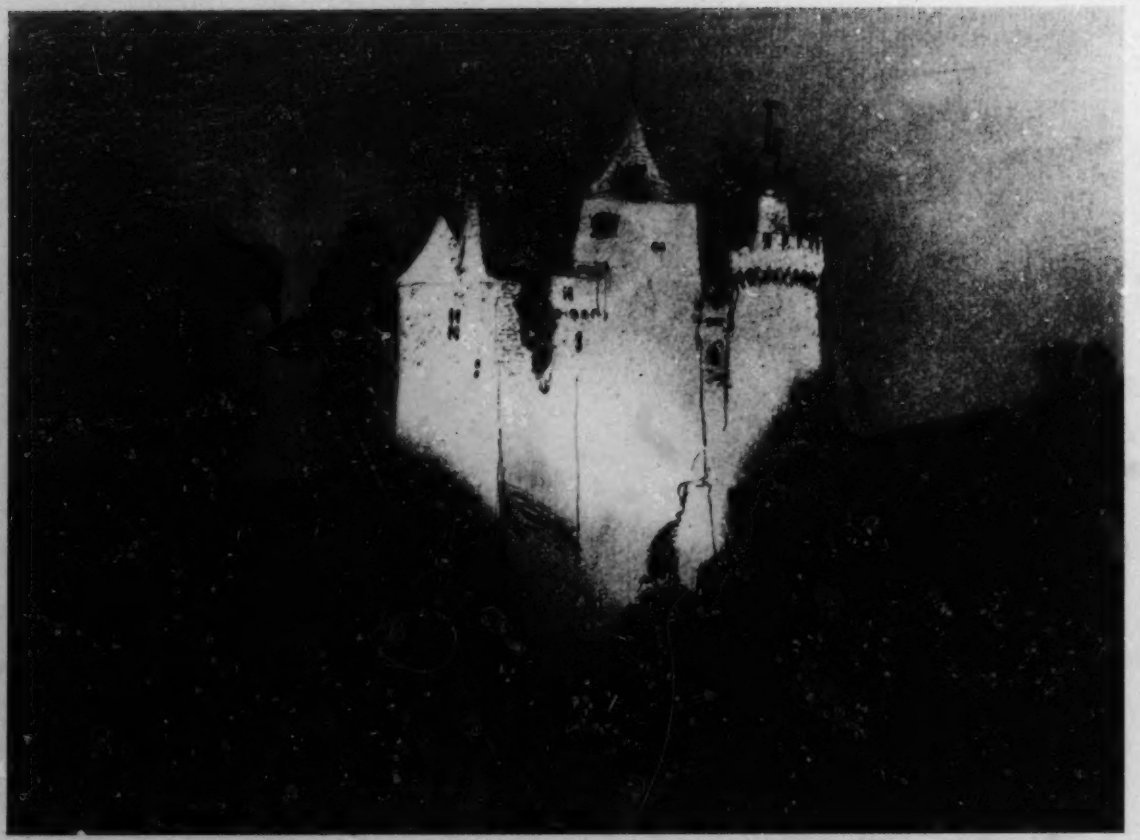
9) A sketchbook 'begun on Oct. 4 1860' (*ibid.*, no. 54-V, edited by J.-B. Barrère, *Un carnet des "Misérables"*, Paris, 1965).

I have been able to study directly sketchbooks 1, 3 and 4, which will be reproduced in the *Catalogue raisonné*. I know sketchbooks 2, 5 and 6 only by descriptions and the few reproductions given in the catalogue of the Lucien-Graux sale and the publications by J.-B. Barrère already referred to. I know sketchbook 9 only through Barrère's work. I know sketchbooks 7 and 8 only through what is said about them in the Lucien-Graux sale catalogue.

A number of drawings are to be found in albums 1 to 6. Some of the albums contain studies for the decoration of Hauteville House, caricatures, notes taken from life, grotesque figures, most of which have curiously indented outlines, of which the page exhibited here is a typical example.

The themes of some drawings are to be found in poetical writings of the same period (*Les Contemplations*, *Dieu*, the various texts of *Le Verso de la page*, which were later split up, etc.).

For the extravagant outlines of some of the figures it would seem that Hugo was inspired by the shapes produced by leaves, rocks, maps, etc. Their use of chance and their 'informal' character link these line drawings to the works employing impressions and blots that are contemporary with them.



43 1856 [*Illuminated castle in the night*]

Pen and sepia wash and rubbed charcoal on white paper, laid down on white paper; outline of the castle obtained by use of paper stencil. 137 × 190
Bottom right: 1856 VICTOR HUGO.
On a paper laid down on the mounting paper: [one or two effaced words: aux pieds ?] de Madame Louise Colet Guernesey 5 août 1856 Victor Hugo.

PROV: Coll. Louise Colet; Dr Lucien-Graux; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 13 December 1957, no. 155.

BIBL: Min. 119; M II, 558; 1971 Georgel, no. 98, ill.; 1971 Georgel, *Collections*, p. 262, ill. fig. 16.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (98).

Musée Victor Hugo, Villequier

The paper stencil used here is no. 35. See nos. 37 and 50.

44 [about 1856]
[*Paper silhouette, perhaps Castle Cornet in Guernsey*]

Paper stencil used with charcoal. 25 × 83

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13351, fol. 34 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

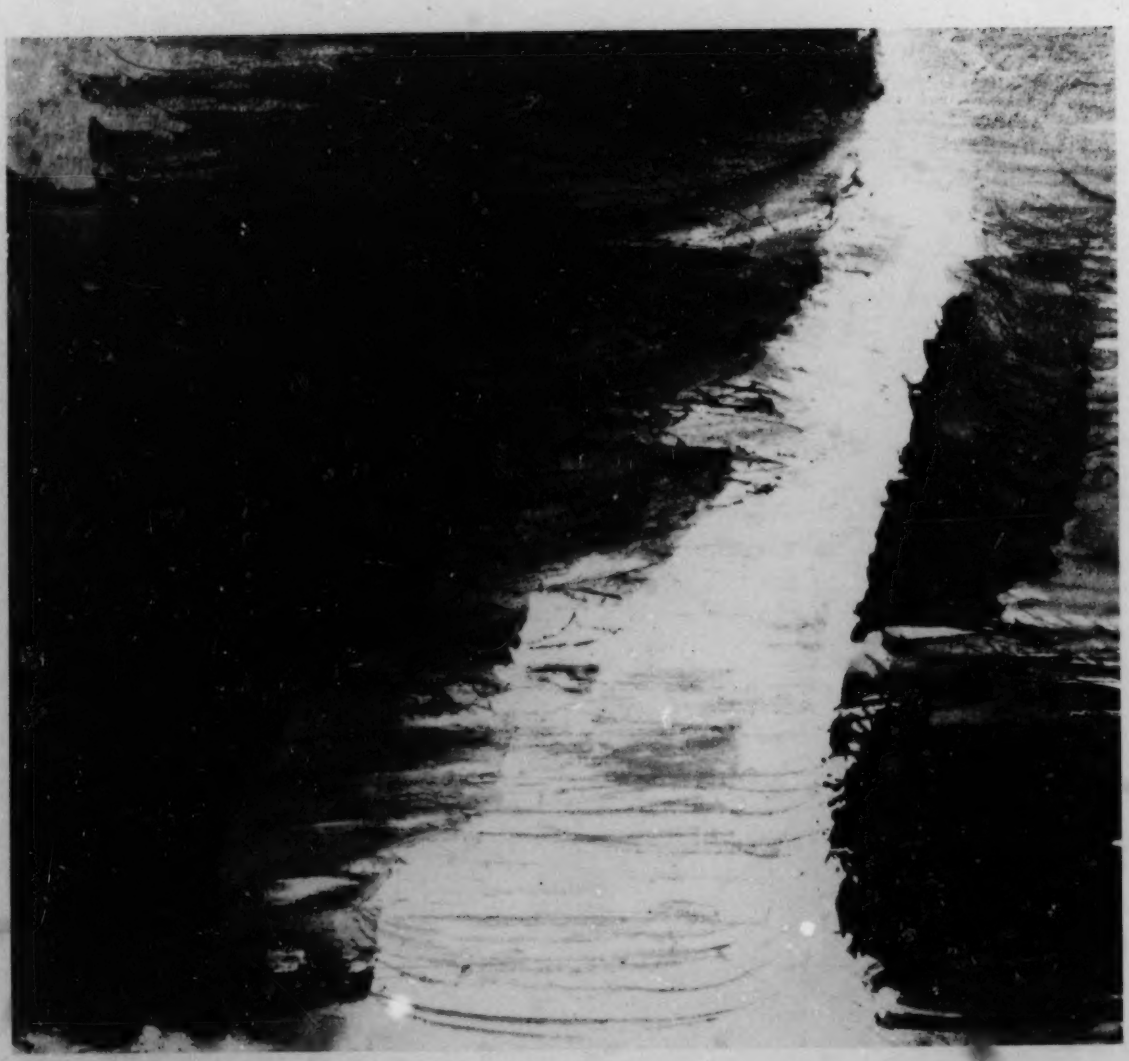
BIBL: 1963 J and R, p. 30; Min. 118; M II, 863.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

I have not identified a work for which this stencil was used.

I think one could recognize in it the outline of Castle Cornet, in Guernsey, which Hugo could see from the windows of Hauteville House. He settled in Guernsey in October 1855.

Laid down on the same sheet as nos. 35, 36, 52.



45 1856 [*Seascape*]

Sepia wash on white card. 255 × 286
Bottom left: Victor Hugo Guernesey 7bre 1856; on the verso, traces of seals in red wax and a fragment of an address (writing unknown): Madame [. . .] *Caen* [. . .]

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice.

BIBL: M II, 679; 1971 Georgel, no. 80, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (80).

Coll. Mme R. Langlois-Berthelot, Paris

Signed, dated, therefore regarded by the artist as finished, this seascape informs us about Hugo's technique at this time. At first sight it looks like a non-figurative drawing: a shaded area, penetrated by light, an effect obtained by trailing hairs from the quill soaked in ink over the surface of the sheet – exactly the process defined by Hugo in a conversation with Jules Laurens in 1855: 'I make [my drawings] with both ends of my instrument, that is I draw with the point of a goose quill and paint with the hairs' (quoted in 1973 Georgel, p. 54).

A number of similar drawings, preserved in miscellanies in the Bibliothèque Nationale or in the collection of M. Jean Hugo, seem to be either experiments, preparations or sketches, the effects of which are to be found in seascapes and other compositions executed after about 1856. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between what is an initial discovery or exploration and what is a later resumption of tested methods.

46 1856 [*Seascape with a small boat*]

Indian ink wash heightened with white gouache on white paper; use of scraping; the outline of the boat is drawn in pen and ink. 460 × 235
Bottom left: Victor Hugo Guernesey 1856.

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice.

BIBL: M II, 678; 1971 Georgel, no. 81, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (81).

Coll. Mme R. Langlois-Berthelot, Paris

On a highly characteristic paper, probably taken from an account book: white laid paper ('*vergé*'), with red ruled columns, and with parallel vertical lines and a large *fleur-de-lys* in the watermark.

It enables us to date several other drawings and sketches that are evidently contemporary with it (see no. 47).

Against an apparently abstract ground, a detail picked out in gouache gives the drawing a figurative orientation (compare with the ship in the sketch taken from life, M II, 643 [6 May 1856]).

The consistency of subject and technique is remarkable. It is as if a process of *mimesis* has occurred between the sea and its draughtsman: the drawing has become a vague, liquid area in which imagination can conjure up and sweep away the lineaments of shapes. Similarly, in the ocean, '*les aspects se dégagent pour se recomposer*' [appearances dissolve and re-form] (*L'Archipel de la Manche*). But this kind of vision is also applied to buildings and to figures (see the *Sketchbook* for March–April 1856, no. 42).

47 [about 1856] [*Unidentified subject*]

Brown wash, heightened with white gouache on white paper. 242 × 171

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13355, fol. 109 (1960 Solente, p. 45).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885. Item included in a miscellany after the death of Hugo.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, p. 18, ill. pl. 9; Min. 160; M II, 959.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

On the same paper as no. 46, and most probably contemporary with it. The technique is the same: paper prepared with a dark wash, heightened with details in gouache. See also M II 999: same paper, same technique. Unlike that drawing and no. 46, this one is very difficult to interpret. The most frequent suggestions are of a head and a landscape. This ambiguity was obviously intended by the artist.

48 [1856]
[*Study for the dining-room fireplace at Hauteville House*]

Pen and brown ink on blue-tinted paper.
228 × 180
At the height of the vase base: 2 bleus; bottom right: 9 7 7–23.

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice.

BIBL: M II, 806; 1971 Georgel, no. 102, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (102).

Coll. Mme R. Langlois-Berthelot, Paris

A study for the dining-room fireplace in Hugo's house in Guernsey, Hauteville House, which was decorated by the poet himself.
It is composed of porcelain cubes and tiles forming a monumental H (see 1947 Delalande, pl. xxv). Probably earlier than the definitive composition: a vase, instead of the statue of Virgin-Liberty crowns the whole composition. The initials, which are more complicated, try to combine a V and an H (see the project reproduced in 1947 Delalande, pl. xxvi).

According to Hugo's diary, the work for the dining-room began in November 1856 and was completed in May 1857. The 'inauguration' took place on 14 May.
The numbers probably refer to an account for porcelain tiles.

49 [1856–1857]
[*Study for the dining-room fireplace at Hauteville House*]

Pen and brown ink on greenish paper (verso of the cover of a paperback book). 278 × 228

PROV: Hugo Estate.

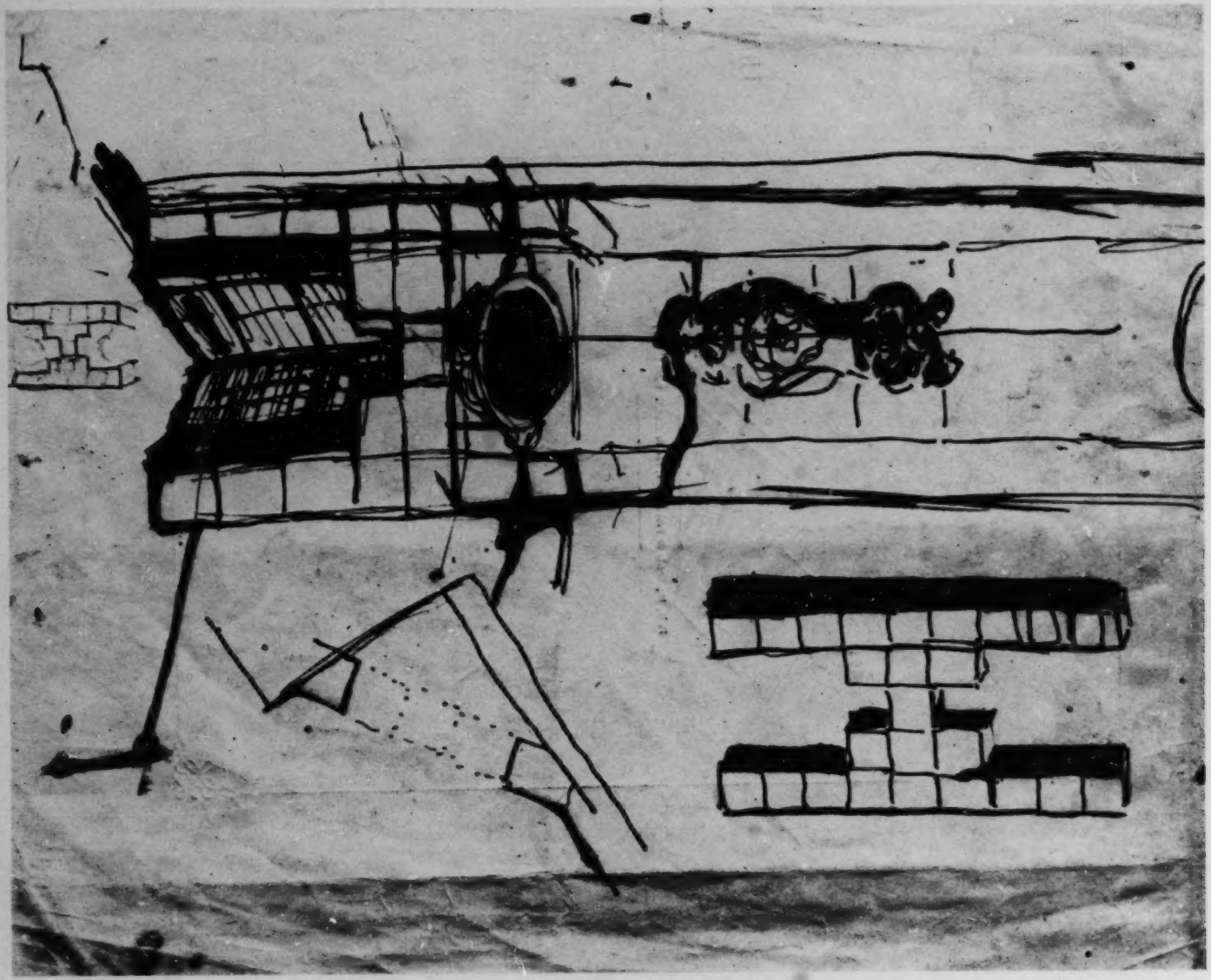
BIBL: M II, 805; 1971 Georgel, no. 101, ill.

EXHIB: 1930 Paris (1088); 1935 Paris (278); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (101); 1972 Paris (44); 1972 Neuchâtel (44).

Coll. M. Jean Hugo, Lunel

A study for the dining-room fireplace at Hauteville House. At the angle with the corners cut off, at the height of the lower half of the H is a fountain in old Rouen, the basin of which rests on the cross stroke of another H in porcelain.

On the right: a study for the H on which the basin rests. Above: the triangle formed in section by this H-shaped construction.



50 1857
[*Large landscape with a castle*]

Pen and sepia wash heightened with white gouache, on white paper laid down on card; outline of the castle obtained by paper stencil. 311 × 490
Bottom right: Victor Hugo Guernsey 1857.

PROV: Coll. Mme Veuve Louis Latour; acquired in 1920 by means of the H. L. Florence fund.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 107, ill.

The British Museum, Prints and Drawings Department

The paper stencil used here is no. 35. See no. 43, executed by means of the same paper stencil.

51 April 1857
[*Ruined castle in the night*]

Pen and sepia wash on white paper. 490 × 310
Bottom left: Victor Hugo Guernesey avril 1857.

PROV: Coll. Auguste Vacquerie; Mme Ernest Lefèvre; Pierre Lefèvre-Vacquerie.

BIBL: 1925 Geffroy, ill. pl. iii; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 36; Min. 197; 1965 Delalande, ill. fig. 51 (after the engraving in Geffroy); 1971 Georgel, no. 106, ill.; 1973 Georgel, ill. fig. 44.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (40); 1919 Paris (3); 1935 Paris (199); 1952 Paris (379); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (106).

Coll. Mme André Gaveau, Paris

52 [about 1857]
[*Paper silhouette of a castle*]

Paper stencil used with charcoal and brown ink.
181 × 161

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13351, fol. 34 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, pp. 18–19; Min. 125; M II, 863.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

As J and R note, this paper stencil was used for the outline of the castle in no. 53, in a drawing known from an engraving by Paul Chenay (1862 Chenay alb., pl. xi), and in another item in the album n. a. fr. 13351 (M II, 864).

Unlike J and R, I do not believe that Hugo made several proofs of it, drawing M II 864 using charcoal alone, whereas the stencil was used with ink. Indeed, the ink was quite obviously applied over rubbed charcoal.

The date of no. 53 enables us to situate this piece in about 1857, but the same stencil could have been used several times, over several years (cf. no. 55).

Laid down on the same sheet as nos. 35, 36, 44.

53 1857
['*Souvenir of a* burg *in the Vosges*']

Pen and sepia wash heightened with gouache and watercolour on white paper; outline of castle obtained by use of paper stencil. 470 × 310
Roughly bottom left, almost covered by the wash: Victor Hugo Guernesey 1857;
At the bottom: souvenir d'un burg des Vosges (souvenir of a castle in the Vosges). – Dedication laid down on the verso: hommage au charmant talent de Mademoiselle Allix. Victor Hugo (homage to the charming talent of Mademoiselle Allix. Victor Hugo).

PROV: Coll. Augustine Allix; Émile Allix; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 14–15–16 November 1927, no. 32; Maurice Thomas; André Dignimont.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, p. 19; Min. 127; 1971 Georgel, no. 108, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (108)

Coll. Mme Cora Vaucaire, Paris

The paper stencil used is no. 52. The title, written on the sheet itself, and probably therefore of the same date, reminds one of the series of *Souvenirs* framed and hung in the billiard-room at Hauteville House, mostly between 1857 and 1859.

Pen and brown ink wash, sepia wash, rubbed charcoal, gouache, watercolour, on white paper.
520 × 350
Bottom right: Victor Hugo 1857; blood stains between the paving stones form the word: JVSTITIA.

PROV: Hung by Hugo in the billiard-room at Hauteville House; Hugo Estate; given with Hauteville House to the city of Paris by Mme Nègreponte, Mlle Marguerite Hugo, MM. Jean and François Hugo, 1927.

BIBL: 1903 Bertaux, p. 150, n. 2; 1928 Weiss, p. 35; 1947 Delalande, p. 35, ill. pl. xii; Min. 202; 1964 Delalande, fig. 58; M I, 503; 1971 Georgel, no. 115, ill.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (1); 1930 Paris (1080); 1971–72 Paris (115).

Hauteville House, Guernsey

We owe to Jean Massin a striking parallel between this drawing and the third part of the poem, *La Révolution*, completed in December 1857 (Massin ed., x, 244):

'O terreur! au milieu de la place déserte,
[...]
Apparaissaient, hideux et debout dans le vide,
Deux poteaux noirs portant un triangle livide;
Le triangle pendait, nu, dans la profondeur;
Plus bas on distinguait une vague rondeur,
Espèce de lucarne ouverte sur de l'ombre;
[...]
Une pourpre, semblable à celle qui ruisselle
Et qui fume le long du mur des abattoirs,
Filtrait de telle sorte entre les pavés noirs
Qu'elle écrivait ce mot mystérieux: Justice.
[...]
Une tête passa dans l'ombre formidable.
Cette tête était blême; il en tombait du sang
[...]'

(Oh terror! In the midst of the deserted square there appeared, hideous and erect in the void, two black gibbets supporting a livid triangle; the triangle hung stark in the depths; lower down could just be seen a vague roundness, a kind of skylight opening onto shades; . . . Something purple, like what trickles and smokes down the wall of a slaughterhouse, oozed through the black paving stones in such a way as to write the mysterious word: Justice . . . A head passed in the frightening twilight. The head was pale; blood dripped from it . . .)

Compare with the series showing a *Hanged Man* of 1854 (see no. 30), but also with a drawing included in a sketchbook of 1856 (no. 42), entitled, somewhat black-humouredly, *Discussion* (1959 J and R, pl. 4 and p. 20). They express an obsession with crime and punishment that is also to be found in the writings of the same period (the beheading of Elciis [November 1857], of Louis XVI and the Marquis Fabrice [December 1857], the trial and punishment in *Le Verso de la page* [November 1857 –February 1858] and *La Pitié Suprême* [January 1858]).

NOTE: **55** Unexpectedly not available

IV After 1860

Although Hugo travelled every summer from 1861 onwards until his final return to France in 1870, this is not enough to explain the change of style that occurred in his graphic work. As we have seen, this change began in 1857 at the latest: it was a purely creative, 'active tendency', which infused frozen forms with life and imprecise ones with energy. But the same repertoire was used over and over again (and sometimes the same stencils over a period of years), the same stock of memories, the same ebb and flow of cloud and sea. With the change of activity that they provided and the picturesque quality of the scenery visited, the journeys introduced both a new technique and a new subject matter.

The new manner first became apparent in the travel drawings. They abound in picturesque curiosities: architectural details, strange mineral configurations, rare animals and grotesques. As the ink wash gave way to pen and pencil, the line became firmer and more subtle. After each summer, the poet returned to Guernsey with albums full of travel sketches. These precise impressions then gave new vigour to his imaginary drawings. Hugo's faculty of observation even becomes more acute in front of the familiar landscapes of the Channel Islands. The years 1860–66 saw a large number of seascapes and landscapes of Guernsey. In these works Hugo makes use of his 'blottesque' experiments, but with new vigour and picturesqueness. Significantly enough, he first organized part of this heterogeneous graphic production in the manuscripts of *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*.

He also found inspiration in artistic sources: popular illustrations which caught his attention;

contemporary etchings, with their energetic play of black and white. Hugo knew them well and it is no accident if they remind one of his drawings. Active intermediaries (Baudelaire, the painter Jules Laurens, the critic Philippe Burty. . .) kept him in contact from his exile in Guernsey with younger artists in Paris: Meryon, Bracquemond, Gustave Doré and a number of etchers. His drawings aroused a good deal of interest and the publication (1862) of an album of engravings after some of them was seen to herald a new Romantic revival.

Hugo the caricaturist, who had remained dormant for some twenty years, also revived under the impact of travel. About 1870 he began to organize his many caricatures of the '60s in a first collection, *Théâtre de la Gaîté*, which was to be followed, in 1873, by the *Poëme de la sorcière*.

This graphic activity was particularly intense in two periods: the summers of 1866 and 1871. In '66, while beginning to write *L'Homme qui rit*, Hugo drew the three *Lighthouses*, the Louvre *Bridge*, numerous drawings and watercolours, often fantastic in inspiration. In 1871, at Vianden, condemned once again to exile, he completed a number of pure landscapes, while working on one of his most powerful epic books, *L'Année Terrible*. In the poems he rediscovered the 'Indignant Muse' of *Les Châtiments* and in the drawings the 'secret harmonies' of nature.

The style hardly changed after the exile: there is an obvious continuity from the washes of 1864–65 laid down on the manuscript of *Les Travailleurs de la Mer* to no. 79, executed some ten years later. This continuity is even emphasized by the inclusion of some drawings from the *Théâtre de la Gaîté* in the later *Poëme de la sorcière*. But the graphic output gradually tapers off. The drawings that can be dated with certainty after 1873 are few in number, small in size, and do not seem to go beyond the year 1876. Thereafter the artist produced only a few 'shavings' now scattered among his manuscripts, and the 'good marks' and 'bad marks' intended for his grandchildren. Most of these have disappeared.

56 [1860?] ['*Shakespeare's House at Stratford-on-Avon*']

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper. 210×365
Bottom right: Maison de Shakespeare à Stratfort sur l'Avon Victor Hugo.
Bottom, right of centre: donné à mon cher petit Victor V.H. 8 octobre 1860.

PROV: Coll. François-Victor Hugo; Hugo Estate; given with Hauteville House to the city of Paris by Mme Nègreponte, Mlle Marguerite Hugo, MM. Jean and François Hugo, 1927.

BIBL: 1928 Weiss, p. 35; 1947 Delalande, p. 30; M II, 49; 1971 Georgel, no. 121; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 281, ill. fig. 1; 1973 Georgel, p. 28, ill. fig. 51.

EXHIB: 1930 Paris (1071); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (121).

Hauteville House, Guernsey

In 1859 Victor Hugo Jr ('François-Victor') began to publish his translation of Shakespeare.

On 6 October 1860 Hugo notes in his diary: 'I have given my drawing of Shakespeare's house to Victor.' The date of the dedication is not necessarily that of the drawing. Moreover, there is a photograph of the drawing, with a dedication dated 15 October 1860 (Paul Duché sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 20 March 1972, no. 175): it is unlikely that it was taken and developed in a week. But the drawing was probably not much earlier: see M II 582 [1860] and 624 ['January 1 1861'].

The 'source', which is copied very faithfully, is an engraving (repr. in Georgel, *Sources*, fig 2).

Hugo refers briefly to Shakespeare's house in his *William Shakespeare*, written in 1863 (Massin ed., xii, 159).

57 1863 [*View of a town*]

Pen and brown ink wash heightened with water-colour and charcoal on white paper. 163 × 252
Bottom right: Victor Hugo HH 1863.

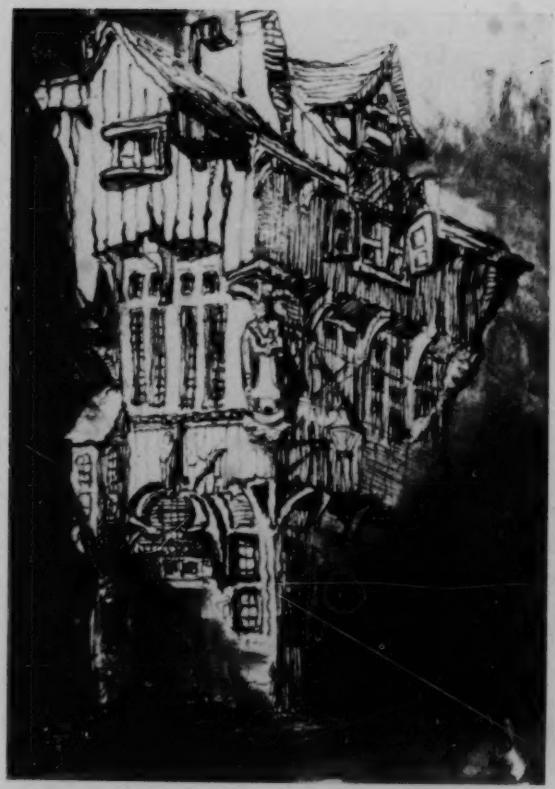
PROV: Coll. Auguste Lesouëf; Smith-Lesouëf Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1913.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 124, ill. (and in colour on the cover); 1971 Georgel, *Collections*, p. 267, ill. fig. 22; 1973 Georgel, ill. fig. 55.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (385); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (124).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Fondation Smith-Lesouëf, Nogent-sur-Marne

Compare in particular with M II 461 (1863), in which the outline of the standard-bearer recurs in a fairly similar form (the castle in the background of M II 461 was probably inspired by the Château de Laroche, which Hugo saw and drew in the summer of 1862 [see M II, 253, 254]).



58 1864
['*Souvenir of an old house at Blois*']

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper. 135 × 95
Bottom right: Souvenir d'une vieille maison de Blois Victor Hugo 1864. – In a seal below the drawing: Victor Hugo 1 janvier 1865.

PROV: Coll. Philippe Burty; Burty sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, salle 3, 9–14 March 1891, no. 882; Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1875 Burty, ill. p. 33; 1893 Hugues ed., *Actes et Paroles*, ii, *Pendant l'exil*, ill. p. 125; 1903 Alexandre, ill. p. 140; 1904 Simon, p. 70; 1907 Planès, no. 311; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 56; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 12; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 13; M II, 464; 1973 Georgel, pp. 29, 40–3, ill. fig. 82.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (132); 1935 Paris (20).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

The correspondence between Victor Hugo and the art critic Philippe Burty (1973 Georgel, see pp. 40–3) provides information about the history of this drawing, which Hugo sent to Burty for the New Year, 1865. 'It's a house in old Blois which I sketched,' Hugo writes. 'It has since been demolished' (letter 12). Indeed, Hugo had visited Blois in 1825. The same year he made several drawings of places he visited, one at least of which he copied in 1865 (1973 Georgel, fig. 90; see letter 18). He probably did the same in the case of this 'souvenir'.

The etchings by Armand Queyroy, *Rues et maisons du Vieux Blois*, which Burty sent to Hugo in 1864, probably gave him the idea for this drawing; but he was not directly inspired by them.

59 1864 [*A visiting card*]

Pen and brown ink wash and watercolour, and charcoal rubbings, on white paper; outlines of sheets of paper obtained by stencils. 242 × 182
In the picture within the drawing, near bottom right: Victor Hugo. – On the sheets of paper represented: VICTO [. . .] HU [. . .] –
Bottom left: Victor Hugo 1864.

PROV: Coll. Charles Hugo?; Georges Hugo.

BIBL: M II, 1022.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (18); Paris 1930 (1058).

Coll. M. Jean Hugo, Lunel

A particularly elaborate 'visiting card' (see nos. 28 and 38). The picture within the drawing corresponds to no known drawing. The motif of flowers and foliage intertwined with the inscriptions harks back to the tradition of medieval illumination. It is frequent in the decorations which Hugo drew and painted on a number of frames, mostly in the 1860s, as well as in the decorative panels of Hauteville House and Hauteville-Fairy, Juliette Drouet's house in Guernsey (1864 also; see M I, 859).

60 [about 1864] ['*Old Guernsey. City wall of St. Peter Port*']

Pen, brown ink wash and white gouache on white paper, laid down on white paper.

Around the drawing (172 × 251) laid down on a mounting paper (297 × 415) is a frame drawn with pen and brown ink wash. At the bottom, covered by the drawing of the frame: Vieux Guernesey. l'enceinte de St Pierre Port;
below: Vieux Guernesey. – Enceinte de St Pierre Port.

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 24745, t. II, fol. 434 (1960 Solente, p. 110).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1882 Méaulle alb., ill. pl. 12; Min. 266; M II, 726.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (341 r).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

Nos. 60 and 61 come from the manuscript of *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, where they were laid down by a book-binder in May 1866, under the instructions and supervision of Victor Hugo himself (see 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 284, n. 3). However, this drawing does not refer to any particular passage in the novel. It is not strictly speaking, therefore, an illustration, but rather an evocation of the same setting as that of the novel, probably contemporary with the writing of it (1864–65).

Vieux Chantelay ~ Enceinte de St Pierre Port

61 [1864?] ['*The King of the Auxcriniers*']

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper, laid down on white paper. 192 × 255
Below the drawing, on the mounting-paper:
LE ROI DES AUXCRINIERS.

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 24745, t. 1, fol. 57 (1960 Solente, p. 110).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1882 Méaulle alb., ill. pl. 3; 1882 Hugues ed., *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, ill. p. 21; 1962 Lethève, ill. pl. 15; Min, 255; 1964 Delalande, ill. fig. 64; M I, 476; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, pp. 284–86, ill. fig. 5.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (341 b).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

Here is the passage from the novel to which this drawing refers:

'Only the most ignorant are unaware of the fact that the greatest danger of the coasts of the Channel Islands is the King of the Auxcriniers. No inhabitant of the seas is more redoubtable. Whoever has seen him is certain to be wrecked between one St. Michel and the other. He is little, being in fact a dwarf; and is deaf, in his quality of king. . . . A head, massive in the lower part and narrow in the forehead; a squat and corpulent figure; a skull, covered with warty excrescences; long legs, long arms, fins for feet, claws for hands, and a sea-green countenance; such are the chief characteristics of this king of the waves. His claws have palms like hands; his fins human nails. Imagine a spectral fish with the face of a human being. . . . Nothing is more unpleasant than an interview with this monster: amid the rolling waves and breakers, or in the thick of the mist, the sailor perceives, sometimes, a strange creature with a beetle brow, wide nostrils, flattened ears, an enormous mouth, gap-toothed jaws, peaked eyebrows, and great grinning eyes . . . . He has a stiff spreading beard, running with water, and overlapping a sort of pelerine, ornamented with fourteen shells, seven before and seven behind. . . . His breast is hideous. A coat of scales covers his sides like a vest. He rises above the waves which fly before the wind, twisting and curling like thin shavings of wood beneath the carpenter's plane. Then his entire form issues out of the foam, and if there should happen to be on the horizon any vessels in distress, pale in the twilight, or his face lighted up with a sinister smile, he dances terrible and uncouth to behold' (*Toilers of the Sea*, trans. W. May Thomas, Everyman ed., London, 1961, pp. 13–14; French original in Massin ed., xii, 562–63).

Despite the perfect correspondence between text and image, the figure of the 'King of the Auxcriniers' does have a source, faithfully copied: an illustration from Champfleury's *Histoire de la caricature antique* (1971 Georgel, *Sources*, ill. fig. 6), based on an Egyptian figurine in the Louvre (*ibid.*, fig. 7).

There is a striking similarity between this figure and the *Roi des Auxcriniers* drawn by Chifflart for the Hetzel edition of *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, 1869 (1973 Georgel, ill. fig. 107). Hugo had shown the manuscript drawings to Chifflart, when the latter visited him in 1868; but according to a letter from Chifflart dating from this journey, it was a mere coincidence (see P. Georgel, *Chifflart et Victor Hugo*, in the catalogue to the *Chifflart* exhibition, Saint-Omer, 1972, and 1973 Georgel, p. 60).

62 [11] September 1865
[*The dungeon of Richard the Lion-Hearted at Trifels*]

Pencil on white paper. 270 × 170
At the bottom, in pencil, scarcely legible: Trifels [. . .] 7bre; in ink: prison de Richard Coeur de-Lion Trifels 1er 7bre 1865.

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Philippe Jourde; gift to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille, 1898.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 138, ill.; 1971 Georgel, *Collections*, p. 267, ill. fig. 19.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (138) [exhibited at Villequier only].

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille

There are few of the travel drawings of the exile outside the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Maison de Victor Hugo. This drawing comes from album n.a.fr. 13343, as do M II 364 and 368–69.

The inscription in ink is probably of a later date, for it was on 11 September that Hugo went to Trifels (to the south of Annweiler, near the French frontier). Indeed, there is a reference to this drawing in his notebook:

'. . . After lunch, we went up to Trifels; [. . .] At the mountain top, scorching sun. Scattered ruin in titanic blocks of stone. In the middle, a great, very pure square tower that seemed quite new. It's an eleventh-century romanesque castellum. At the side of the tower, there is some exquisite romanesque corbelling supported by two grotesque masks in the form of consoles. A flight of worn stone steps. I went up them and wandered all over. I picked a small pink flower growing on the air hole of Richard the Lion-Hearted's dungeon. [. . .] I drew the *burg*.' (Massin ed., xiii, 1072, translated).

63 30 June 1865
['*Old mill-bridge at Hampton Court*']

Pencil on white paper. 185 × 145
Bottom left, in pencil: 30 juin 1865 Vieux pont-moulin de Hamptoncourt avant la réparation.
Bottom right, in ink: j'ai trouvé mon portrait dans la gare d'Ostende (I found my portrait in the railway station at Ostend).

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13462, fol. 63 v° (1960 Solente, p. 59).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: M II, 345; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 292, ill. fig. 17.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

Drawing made during a brief stay in England on a journey from Guernsey to Brussels, where Hugo was to spend the summer of 1865.
See no. 64.

THE ART EXHIBITION CATALOGUES OF THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

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64 [1865]
[Old mill-bridge at Hampton Court]

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper.
263 × 173

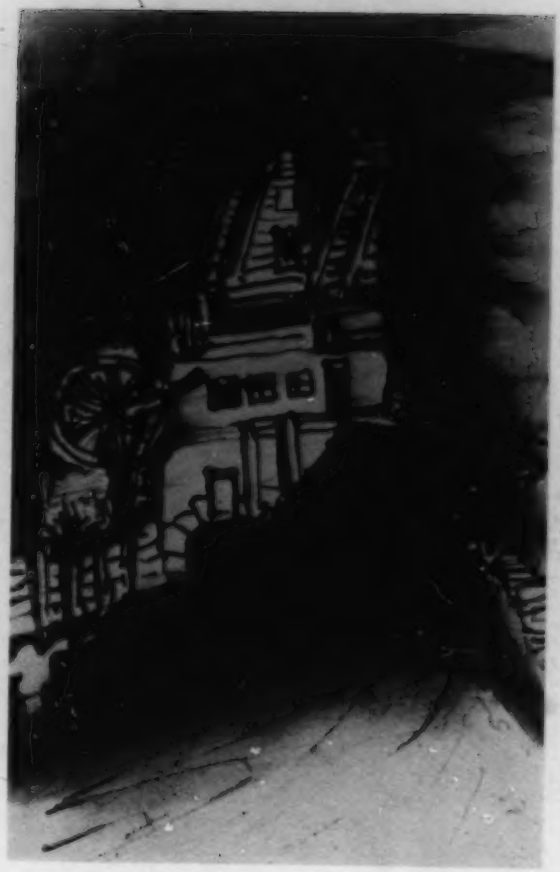
PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice?; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903)?

BIBL: 1895 Hugues ed., *France et Belgique*, ill. p. 41; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 142; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 157; M II, 611; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 292, ill. fig. 16.

EXHIB: 1919 Paris (11); 1930 Paris (726); 1951 Geneva (71).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

Second version of no. 63. In his drawings of the 1860s Hugo sometimes returned to sketches taken from life, which he developed in washes full of 'effect' (see 1973 Georgel, p. 30, especially figs. 65 and 66, and another example in 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, figs. 18–19).



65 [1864–1865]
[*Composition with finger-prints*]

Brown ink wash and finger-prints on white paper.
260 × 190

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13345, fol. 28 (1960 Solente, p. 43).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: Min. 247; 1964 Delalande, ill. fig. 108; M II, 982.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

The album contains drawings which are dated 1864 and 1865 or which can be attributed to those years. There is no reason to suppose that this drawing is of a different date.

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper.
890 × 470
Bottom right: Victor Hugo 1866.

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1903 Alexandre, ill. p. 13; 1904 Simon, p. 60; 1907 Planès, no. 219; 1926 Escholier, p. 88, ill. p. 88; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 220; 1955 Sergent, ill. pl. 7; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 255; Min. 288; 1964 Delalande, ill. fig. 47; M II, 780; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 283.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (55); 1935 Paris (698); 1951 Geneva (108); 1955 Guernsey (232).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

In 1866 Victor Hugo executed three large drawings representing lighthouses (nos. 66–7 and 1971 Georgel, no. 141). He refers to one of them, but we do not know which one, in his diary entry for 22 August: 'I have finished the drawing of *The Old Lighthouse*' (1971 Georgel, *Sources*, p. 284, n. i).

On 2 August he had noted the purchase of Beeverell's book, *Les délices de la Grande-Bretagne* (*ibid.*). Now, we know from a remark by Elémir Bourges, related by Escholier, that this drawing has been directly inspired by one of Beeverell's plates representing the Eddystone Lighthouse (reproduced in Min., p. 288). Hugo copied his 'source' very faithfully and the few invented details merely add to the extravagance of the original. But he transformed the small engraving into a monumental composition of extraordinary energy.

At the same time Hugo was beginning to write *L'Homme qui rit*. Although one cannot really speak of illustration, there are definite similarities between the drawings and the novel. Each of the *Lighthouses* may be brought together with a particular passage in the book. Here is the passage concerning the Eddystone Lighthouse:

'In the seventeenth century a lighthouse was a sort of plume of land beside the sea. The architecture of a lighthouse tower was magnificent and extravagant. Balconies, balustrades, turrets, loggias, arbors, weathercocks were lavished upon it. It was made up entirely of grotesque masks, statues, foliated scrolls, volutes, sculptured figures, statuettes, cartouches containing inscriptions. PAX IN BELLO, proclaimed the Eddystone Lighthouse' (trans. from Massin ed., xiv, 93).

67 1866 [*The Casquets Lighthouse*]

Pen and brown ink wash and rubbed charcoal touched with white gouache, on white paper.
890 × 470
Bottom right: Victor Hugo 1866.

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

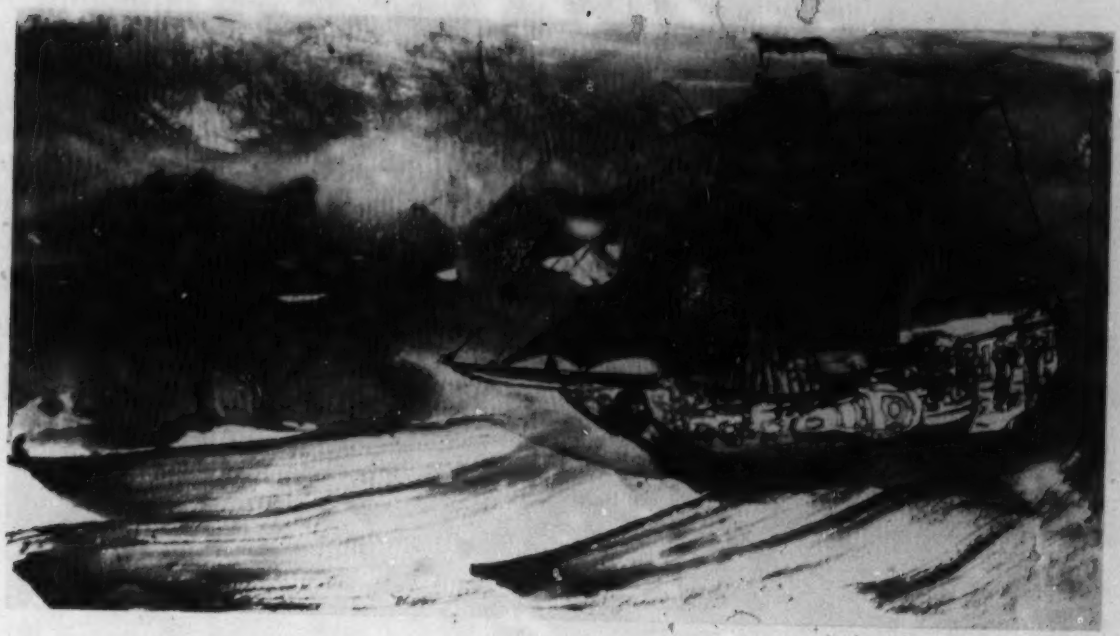
BIBL: 1904 Simon, p. 60; 1907 Planès, no. 227; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 88; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 221; 1937 3rd cat. MVH, no. 256; Min. 287; M II, 781.

EXHIB: 1888 Paris (54); 1930 Paris (699); 1951 Geneva (109); 1952 Paris (353).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

See no. 66. There is a study for this drawing in an album from summer 1866 (M II, 782). The passage of *L'Homme qui rit* with which it can be brought together is the following:

'At this time, [the Casquets lighthouse] was a simple, old, barbarian lighthouse, in the same state as Henri I had built it after the loss of the *White Ship*, a flaming pyre beneath a piece of iron trellis-work, perched on the top of a rock, a glowing fire behind a grid and flames blowing in the wind like hair' (trans. from Massin ed., xiv, 94).



68 · [1866] [*Seascape with a ship and the Casquets islands*]

Pen and brown ink wash on white drawing paper; the front of the ship has been retouched with brush and Indian ink. 265 × 495

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice.

BIBL: Min. 271; M II, 688; 1971 Georgel, no. 143, ill; 1971 Georgel, *Sources*, pp. 287–90, ill. fig. 14.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (395); 1955 Guernsey (29); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (143).

Coll. Mme R. Langlois-Berthelot, Paris

The landscape is certainly that of Les Casquets, an island in the 'archipel de la Manche', which Hugo drew from life on 15 August 1863 (M II, 689). It is exactly the same setting as Book II of *L'Homme qui rit*, 'L'Ourque en Mer'. Although one cannot actually say that the ship in the drawing *is* the 'Matutina' of the novel, its sails and its very ornate hull are strongly reminiscent of 'the very special set of sails, complicated with stays' of the 'gilt' and 'painted' ship, about which Victor Hugo speaks of 'tattooing' (Massin ed., xiv, 55). This part of *L'Homme qui rit* was written during the summer of 1866 and can also be brought together with the three *Lighthouses* (see nos. 66–7). It seems to me that, although these four large-scale compositions are not proper illustrations of the novel, Hugo conceived it, at one and the same time, in literary and plastic terms.

As with the *Saint Paul* of 1850 (no. 19), the 'source' of this drawing is an object belonging to Hugo: a model of a Dutch war frigate bought in Brussels in July 1866, now in Hauteville House (ill. in Georgel, *Sources*, fig. 15). A study of the prow of the same ship (M I, 201) is to be found in the B.N. album Ms. n.a.fr. 13342 (summer 1866), which contains, in particular, a study for the *Casquets Lighthouse* (see no. 69).

69 [1866] [*Winged Horse*]

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper. 172 × 265

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13342, fol. 5 (1960 Solente, p. 43).

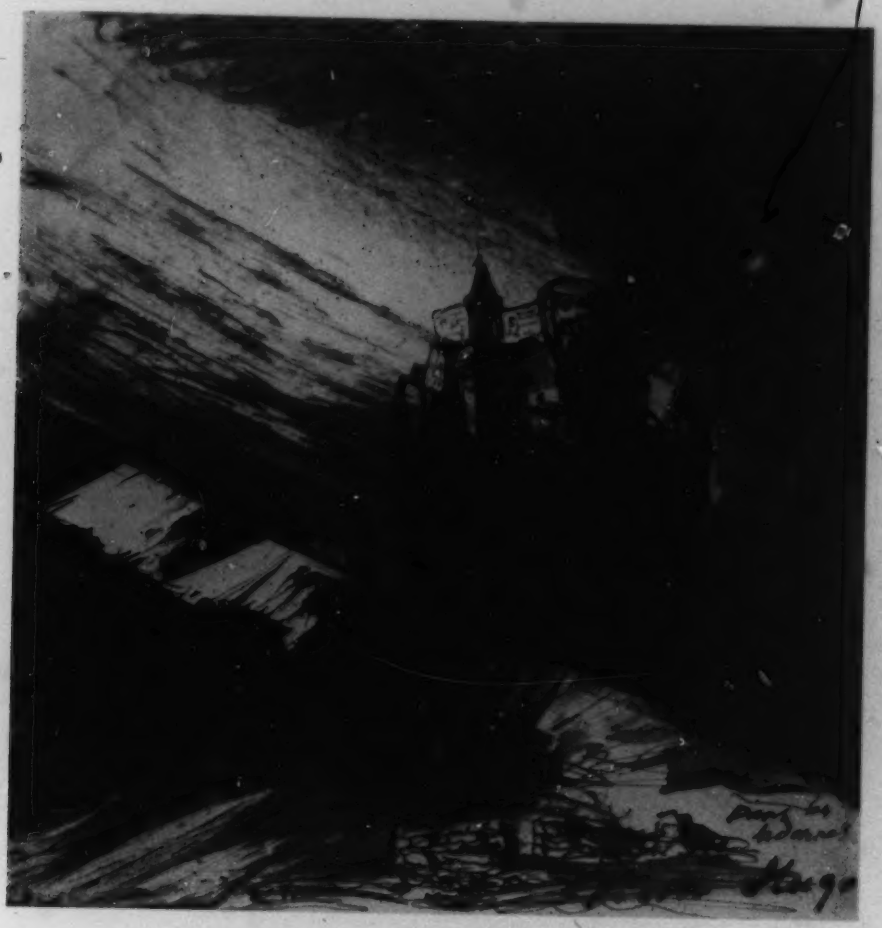
PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: Min. 272; M I, 282.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

The album was used during the summer of 1866. In particular it contains a study of the model ship represented in no. 68 (M I, 201) and a study for no. 67.

R. Cornaille and G. Herscher (Min., p. 100) compare the exhibited drawing with the poems 'Le cheval' and 'Au Cheval' in the *Chansons des rues et des bois* (poems written and published in 1865). After the publication of the collection Philippe Burty had suggested to Hugo that he should carry out 'a translation in drawing of some of his books'. He referred in particular to 'Le Cheval' (1973 Georgel, letter 20, 17 January 1866).



70 [about 1866] ['*In the Ardennes*']

Pen and brown ink wash on white paper.
233 × 218
Bottom right: Dans les Ardennes. Victor Hugo.

PROV: Coll. Arsène Houssaye; sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 15 June 1973 (no catalogue).

Musée Victor Hugo, Villequier

This important unpublished drawing seems to me to be fairly obviously contemporary, in style, with the drawings dated 1866. See, in particular, M II 467, with the same type of diagonal composition.

The inscription 'Dans les Ardennes' reminds us that Hugo made several visits to the Ardennes from 1861, during his summer holidays in Belgium. But it is doubtful whether it depicts a particular site. Although the geographical particulars written on pencil sketches from life (such as no. 62) are generally correct, this is not always the case with those that sometimes accompany the more elaborate washes. Thus, a motif obviously inspired by a Jersey landscape might well become, according to the title inscribed on it by Hugo, 'Souvenir de Suisse. Vedette de Guillaume Tell près d'Altdorf' (M II, 458; see M II, 642 and 1971 Georgel, no. 66).

71 [30–31 December 1868]
['*Puente de los Contrabandistas*']

Pen, brown ink wash and indian ink wash on white paper.
Bottom right: Victor Hugo Pyrénées – Puente de los Contrabandistas.

PROV: Coll. Jules Claretie; Georges Claretie.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 146, ill.

EXHIB: 1935 Paris (235); 1953 Paris (706); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris, no. 146.

Private Collection

This drawing is mentioned in one of Victor Hugo's notebooks on 31 December 1868: 'yesterday and today I made six drawings for [various people and] Claretie'; and on 1 January 1869: 'six drawings sent off'. Hugo also tells Vacquerie: 'Claretie asked me to do so and I promised' (Massin ed., xiv, 1257). He accompanies the present with the following comments (*ibid.*):

'[. . .] It's *El Puente de los Contrabandistas*. I saw it in the Pyrenees when I was a child. The Smugglers' Bridge was terrifying. The smugglers used it as a bridge and the authorities as a scaffold. The smugglers were hanged from the beams. It still didn't stop them using it as a bridge. It was also called:

They walk above
And dance below.

[. . .] I'm sending you this gloomy dance. Forgive me. It's hideous, but useful. We must rub the executioners' noses in their own work. So let's show these past horrors. [. . .]'

Compare with the *Hanged men* of 1854 (no. 30) and with the later description of a hanged man in the chapter of *L'Homme qui rit* entitled 'L'arbre d'invention humaine' (I, i, 5 and 6; Massin ed., xiv, 63–9; written in 1866).

72 [about 1869?]
[*Character studies; two heads from the 'Théâtre de la Gaîté'*]

Two drawings, pen and brown ink on white paper, laid down on white paper.

1 188 × 122

At the bottom: oui, mon colonel (yes, colonel).

2 225 × 150

At the bottom: tête d'une culotte de peau (head of an old campaigner).

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13352, fol. 3 v – 4r (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: 1961 J and R, p. 15, ill. pl. 3 (drawing 1) and pl. 4 (drawing 2); M 1, 843 (drawing 1) and 840 (drawing 2).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

These two drawings form part of an album in which are mounted a number of character studies of heads. They are preceded by a title-page on a laid-down sheet, written in Hugo's hand: *Théâtre de la Gaîté* (from the name of a famous Paris theatre). J and R suggested that the album was made up by Hugo himself. I myself tend to believe that he merely had collected most of the sheets under the heading *Théâtre de la Gaîté* and that the final montage, accompanied by various changes, was made after his death.

Apart from a few easily recognizable pieces, the style of which is that of the 1830s, most of the drawings share an obvious unity of inspiration and technique, and many are executed on sheets of a characteristic paper (no. 33 of the classification established by 1961 J and R, p. 14); so they can be regarded as more or less contemporary with one another. They are related to an important body of drawings contained in miscellanies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, or on loose pages (often of the same paper, no. 33) scattered at random through sales and bequests.

None of these sheets is dated, but several clues (1961 J and R, p. 5), especially a close relationship with caricatures contained in a sketch-book from 1869 (B.N. Ms. n.a.fr. 13469), suggest that they belong to that year or thereabouts. Furthermore, Hugo mentions in an inventory of his manuscripts dated 14 August 1870, 'many of my drawings – finished or left in sketch form, especially what I call my *figurines*' (Massin ed., xiv, 1505): he might well be referring to these 'figures'. However, their resemblance to drawings in the manuscript of *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, to other items in travel albums from 1861 to 1868 and to others belonging to the *Poëme de la Sorcière* (1873) tend to extend this approximation. Following Journet and Robert, and Massin, I would provisionally date the *Théâtre de la Gaîté* series and the drawings that are closest to it around 1869, with a wide margin extending from 1862 to 1873. I hope to be more precise in the *Catalogue raisonné*.

As in the period 1832–35, the satire is directed at the conventions, stupidities and turpitudes of the bourgeois. It is even more incisive against established authority: monarchy, church, army. The art has become much more simplified. It finds complete fulfilment in the expressive line of the profiles, which are reduced to essentials in a single rapid, fluid, firm stroke, emphasized by fine applications of impasto.

See also nos. 73–4.

Drawing 1 was executed on paper no. 33 of the *Théâtre de la Gaîté*.

oui, mon colonel

Tête d'une culotte
de peau

73 [about 1869?]
[*Character study; a head*]

Pen and black ink on white paper. 262 × 205
Bottom left: major, et sagace. (a major, and shrewd).

PROV: Coll. Paul Meurice; Mme Clemenceau-Meurice; Mme Langlois-Berthelot.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 152, ill.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (152).

Coll. Mme Philippe Devinat, Paris

See no. 72. Paper no. 33 of the *Théâtre de la Gaîté*.

74 [about 1869?]
[*Character study; a head*]

Pen and black ink on white paper. 298 × 201

PROV: Hugo Estate.

BIBL: Min. 363; MI, 918; 1971 Georgel, no. 151.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (151); 1972 Paris (70); 1972 Neuchâtel (70).

Coll. M. Jean Hugo, Lunel

See no. 72. Paper no. 33 of the *Théâtre de la Gaîté*.

75 [July? 1871] [*Paper silhouette of the Castle of Vianden*]

White paper stencil used with violet ink. 70 × 120

PROV: Hugo Estate; coll. Valentine Hugo.

BIBL: 1971 Georgel, no. 159, ill. (illustration erroneously transposed with that of no. 157).

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (159).

Private Collection

This paper stencil represents the Castle of Vianden, in Luxemburg, where Hugo stayed in the summer of 1871. It was used in a drawing dated 27 July 1871 (1903 Bertaux, ill. p. 487), and the sheet from which Hugo cut it out was used for the outline of the castle in no. 76.

76 [Summer 1871] [*View of Vianden*]

Pen and brown ink wash over pencil on white paper; outline of castle obtained by means of paper stencil. 250 × 350

PROV: Coll. Juliette Drouet?; Louis Koch?; Paul Meurice; in the museum collections since its foundation (1903).

BIBL: 1903 Bertaux, ill. p. 25; 1904 Simon, p. 55; 1907 Planès, no. 239; 1926 Escholier, ill. p. 60; 1934 2nd cat. MVH, no. 33; 1957 3rd cat. MVH, no. 36; Min. 337; 1964 Delalande, ill. fig. 25; M II, 414.

EXHIB: 1919 Paris (6); 1930 Paris (721); 1935 Paris (353).

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

A view of the village and castle of Vianden. The outline of the castle was obtained by means of the sheet of paper out of which no. 75 had been cut. The ink was originally violet (see no. 75), but it turned brownish as it paled.

77 17 August [1871] [*Cart in a storm*]

Pen and violet ink wash on white paper. 256 × 350
At the bottom: Tourmente du 17 août.

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 13349, fol. 5 (1960 Solente, p. 44).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885.

BIBL: Min. 339; M II, 419.

EXHIB: 1952 Paris (450).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

Carts in the Luxemburg countryside were a favourite subject for Hugo during the summer of 1871. He drew at least six of them between 9 and 31 August (M II, 415–20).

On examining the album which contains this drawing, we come to realize that this particular one was probably not executed from life but a little later. Indeed, the album contains several violet ink washes, obviously contemporary with this one, in which the pencil strokes of an original sketch from life are visible, which is not the case here.

This is the first time a collection of drawings entitled by Hugo himself '*le Poëme de la sorcière*' has been presented to the public.

I have explained elsewhere why the most important part of this collection certainly dates from Victor Hugo's stay in Guernsey during which he wrote *Quatrevingt-Treize* (August 1872–July 1873). During this stay, Hugo seems to have embarked on an important classification of his papers. In particular, he arranged a number of his drawings into series, each of these series occupying a single folder. It was then, I believe, that he set aside a number of caricatures and worked out the precise argument of the trial, torture and death of a witch. He added captions to existing drawings, gave them a more precise position in the collection and, above all, made new ones. Among these new drawings it is easy to recognize a series on a blue-grey paper that did not appear in Hugo's literary '*reliquats*' (remains) before the stay of 1872–73. Having arranged all the drawings in folders, he took them with him to Paris and showed them to Philippe Burty on the following 7 December.

According to Burty (1875) the collection then formed an album; but it would not appear that the drawings had been laid down. On the other hand Bertaux tells us in 1903 that Edouard Lockroy, Mme Charles Hugo's second husband, had them mounted (probably after Hugo's death). These four mountings have been preserved. Each of them is accompanied by a general title, on a piece of paper that had probably been originally part of the folder in which Hugo had grouped the corresponding drawings. The cohesion of each mounting would suggest that Lockroy did not alter the order in which Hugo had placed the drawings – though this order may not have been a definitive one.

However, not all the drawings were included in these mountings. In his 1875 article, Burty described several drawings that are not to be found there. Some remained in the Hugo family; others are in the Hugo manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, mounted in miscellanies. It is generally impossible to tell whether certain items that one is tempted to relate to the *Poëme* did actually belong to the series and were excluded from it by Hugo, or became displaced during posthumous re-arrangements. But it seems likely that the items that remained in the Hugo family had simply been dropped from the *Poëme* by Lockroy in order to lighten certain heavily illustrated 'chapters' which, when mounted, would have upset the balance between the various panels.

Until further research, the results of which I shall include in a special publication, makes it possible to reconstruct the original set more completely, I have chosen to present in this exhibition those items which belong without any doubt to the set (56 of the 'sixty or so' referred to by Burty in 1875):

1 Lockroy's four mountings, described in the order in which the items are laid down, which is probably as close as we are likely to get to Hugo's own arrangement;

2 of the drawings that remained in the Hugo family, six drawings that are obviously related to the *Poëme*, executed on the characteristic blue-grey paper.

PROV: 1 *Mountings:* Hugo Estate; Mme Nègreponte (born Jeanne Hugo); gift of her heirs, M. Charles Daudet, Mlle Marguerite Hugo and MM. Jean and François Hugo to the Maison de Victor Hugo, 1943.
2 *Drawings that remained in the family:* Hugo Estate; Jean Hugo Coll.; acquired from 1972 to 1974.
GENERAL BIBL: 1875 Burty, pp. 317–19; 1903 Bertaux, p. 470; 1961 J and R, pp. 27–8; 1963 J and R, p. 63; M I, pp. xi–xiii; 1971 Georgel, pp. 244–50.

The mountings are described from top to bottom and from left to right; the numbering is arbitrary.

MOUNTING I

a. brown ink on blue-grey paper [No drawing].
Text: Pièces du procès. – Portraits authentiques

de divers diables que la sorcière a eu le tort de fréquenter [Documents in the case. – Authentic portraits of various devils with whom the witch guiltily consorted].
Bibl: M I, 884

b. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 183 × 153
Bibl: M I, 895

c. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 185 × 140
Bibl: Min. 355; M I, 886

d. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 187 × 158
Bibl: Min. 356; M I, 885

e. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 192 × 138
bottom: démone [she-devil]
Bibl: Min. 359; M I, 888

f. brown ink on white paper. 180 × 110
Bibl: M I, 894

g. brown ink on white paper. 179 × 111
Bibl: Min. 357; M I, 890

h. brown ink on white paper. 182 × 109
Bibl: Min. 354; M I, 889

i. blue crayon on blue-grey paper. 185 × 170
bottom: démone vue en rêve [she-devil seen in a dream]
Bibl: M I, 896

j. brown ink on white paper. 112 × 179
bottom left: oiseau déclassé dont les caquetages ont compromis la sorcière [fallen bird whose gossipings compromised the witch]
Bibl: M I, 898

MOUNTING II
k. brown ink on two pieces of blue-grey paper placed together [No drawing].
Text: V. H. la Sorcière
Bibl: M I, 883

l. blue crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: juge extrêmement capable [extremely able judge]
Bibl: M I, 900.

m. brown ink on white paper. 230 × 140
bottom: criminaliste et démonologue infaillible [infallible criminalist and demonologist]
Bibl: Min. 361; M I, 912

n. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom left: qui se défie [who is mistrustful]
Bibl: Min. 362; M I, 917

o. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom left, in crayon, striped with ink: autre juge [another judge]; bottom centre: le Théologal [the Theologal]
Bibl: Min. 360; M I, 911

p. brown ink on white paper. 230 × 140
bottom: casuiste [casuist]
Bibl: M I, 910

q. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom left: criminaliste ecclésiastique en présence de la sorcière [ecclesiastical criminalist confronting the witch]
Bibl: M I, 914

r. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom right: de bonne foi [in good faith]
Bibl: M I, 916

s. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: bonhomme d'évêque grand inquisiteur, assistant à la torture d'une femme [good natured bishop/Grand Inquisitor, attending the torture of a woman]
Bibl: M I, 924

t. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: content de voir que l'affaire s'éclaircit [pleased to see that the affair is becoming clearer]
Bibl: M I, 195

u. brown ink on white paper. 230 × 140
bottom left: juge tortionnaire (légèrement railleur) [torturer judge (slightly mocking)]
Bibl: M I, 907

v. red and black crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: cardinal grand inquisiteur [cardinal Grand Inquisitor]
Bibl: M I, 925

w. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: autre inquisiteur regardant mettre une femme à la torture [another inquisitor watching a woman being tortured]
Bibl: M I, 923

x. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: autre juge [another judge]
Bibl: M I, 906

y. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: autre juge
Bibl: M I, 904

z. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: autre juge très malin [another, very crafty judge]
Bibl: M I, 905

aa. brown ink on blue-grey paper [No drawing].
Text: les juges [the judges]
Bibl: M I, 899

MOUNTING III

bb. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 236 × 152
bottom: on amène la sorcière [the witch is led in]
Bibl: M I, 928

cc. brown ink on white paper. 235 × 154
bottom: elle se déclare innocente [she declares her innocence]
Bibl: M I, 929

dd. brown ink on white paper. 163 × 111
bottom: la sorcière allant au bûcher après six mois de cachot et de torture [the witch going to the stake after six months' imprisonment and torture]
Bibl: M I, 944

ee. pen and brown ink wash on blue-grey paper. 145 × 135
bottom: le bourreau [the executioner]
Bibl: M I, 930

ff. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 234 × 153
bottom: pendant qu'on la déshabille pour la torture [as she is undressed for torture]
Bibl: M I, 931

gg. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 237 × 153
bottom, in brown ink: torturée [tortured]
Bibl: M I, 935

hh. brown ink on white paper. 235 × 155
bottom: séminariste qui chante pendant qu'on brûle la sorcière [seminarist chanting as the witch is burnt]
Bibl: M I, 942

ii. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 235 × 153
bottom: inquisiteur béat assistant à la torture [smug inquisitor attending the torture]
Bibl: M I, 937

jj. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 233 × 153
bottom: regardant donner l'estrapade à la sorcière [watching the witch being subjected to the strappado]
Bibl: M I, 936

kk. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 233 × 153
bottom: heureux de voir la sorcière convaincue [happy to see the witch convinced]
Bibl: M I, 941

ll. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 240 × 153
bottom: regardant mettre une femme à la question [watching a woman being questioned]
Bibl: M I, 938

mm. brown ink on blue-grey paper. [No drawing]
Text: la torture
Bibl: M I, 926

nn. brown ink on white paper. 165 × 116
bottom: celui de qui la grâce dépendait et qui, à son réveil, l'a refusée [he who could have pardoned her and who, on waking, refused to do so]
Bibl: M I, 943

It is probably to this drawing that a sheet of folded paper refers on one side of which Hugo wrote: L'homme qui pouvait signer la grâce [the man who could sign the pardon]; on the other side: ceux qui la voient passer allant au supplice [those who see her pass on her way to execution] (see no. xx).

MOUNTING IV

oo. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 142
bottom: probablement coupable [probably guilty]
Bibl: M I, 947

pp. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: vieille femme regarde la Sorcière de côté craint d'être compromise
[old woman gives a side-long look at the Witch

fears being compromised]
Bibl: M I, 948

qq. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
bottom: attentif [paying attention]
Bibl: M I, 949

rr. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
Bibl: M I, 950

ss. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 230 × 140
Bibl: M I, 951

tt. brown ink on white paper. 230 × 140
bottom: petite fille dans la foule (qui ne comprend pas) [little girl in the crowd (who doesn't understand)]
Bibl: M I, 959

uu. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 175 × 132
bottom: bonhomme de la foule regardant passer la sorcière [man in the crowd watching the witch go by]
Bibl: M I, 952

vv. brown ink on blue-grey paper. 230 × 154
bottom: Hein? qu'est ce que c'est que ça?
[Eh? What's that?]
Bibl: M I, 957

ww. brown ink on white paper. 190 × 140
bottom: écrivain religieux raillant les déclamateurs. l'inquisition! les autodafés! et autres lieux communs. – qui est-ce qui croit à tout cela?
[Religious writer mocking the ranters. – Inquisition, auto-da-fes! and such stuff. – Who believes in all that?]
Bibl: M I, 958

xx. brown ink on yellowish paper. [No drawing]
Text: gens de la foule qui assistent au supplice [people in the crowd attending the execution] (see no. nn).

DRAWINGS THAT REMAINED IN THE HUGO FAMILY

(presented in an order corresponding to that of the panels)

yy. blue crayon on blue-grey paper. 938 × 192
bottom: autre démonologue perspicace [another perspicacious demonologist]
Bibl: M I, 913; 1971 Georgel, no. 163
Exhib: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (163); 1972 Paris (78)

zz. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 240 × 190
bottom: autre juge (écclésiastique) [another judge (ecclesiastical)]
Bibl: M I, 908; 1971 Georgel, no. 165, ill.
Exhib: 1930 Paris (1095); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (165); 1972 Paris (80)

aaa. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 237 × 191
bottom: autre juge capable [another able judge]
Bibl: M I, 901; 1971 Georgel, no. 167, ill.
Exhib: 1930 Paris (1090); 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (167); 1972 Paris (82).

bbb. pen and black ink on grey paper. 193 × 92
Bibl: M I, 933; 1971 Georgel, no. 168.
Exhib: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (168); 1972 Paris (83)
This drawing is probably related to a folded sheet of the same paper, acquired at the same time, on which Hugo wrote: p. 1: 'elle va au supplice' [she goes to execution], p. 2: 'Pendant la torture' [during the torture].

ccc. red crayon on blue-grey paper. 241 × 200
bottom, in brown ink: un des bourreaux (convaincus) [one of the executioners (convinced)]
Bibl: M I, 934; 1971 Georgel, no. 169, ill.
Exhib: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (169); 1972 Paris (84)

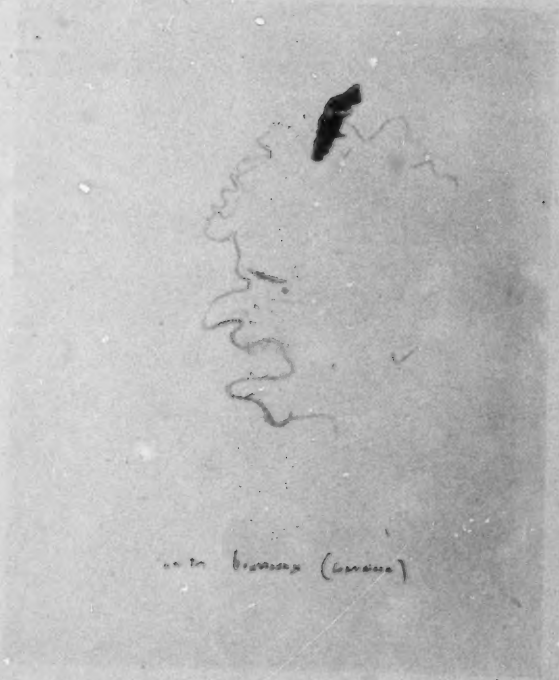
ddd. black crayon on blue-grey paper. 238 × 174
Bibl: M I, 711; 1971 Georgel, no. 170, repr.
Exhib: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (170); 1972 Paris (85)

Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris

zz

aaa

bbb



ccc

79 [about 1875 ?] [*Misty seascape*]

Indian ink wash on white paper. 265 × 438
On the verso, stamp of the Hugo Estate ('cote' 127; item 116).

BN SHELF MARK: N.a.fr. 24807, t. II, fol. 40 (1960 Solente, p. 119).

PROV: Hugo Bequest, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1885. Item included in a miscellany after the death of Hugo.

BIBL: 1963 J and R, pp. 22–3, ill. pl. 18; M II, 703.

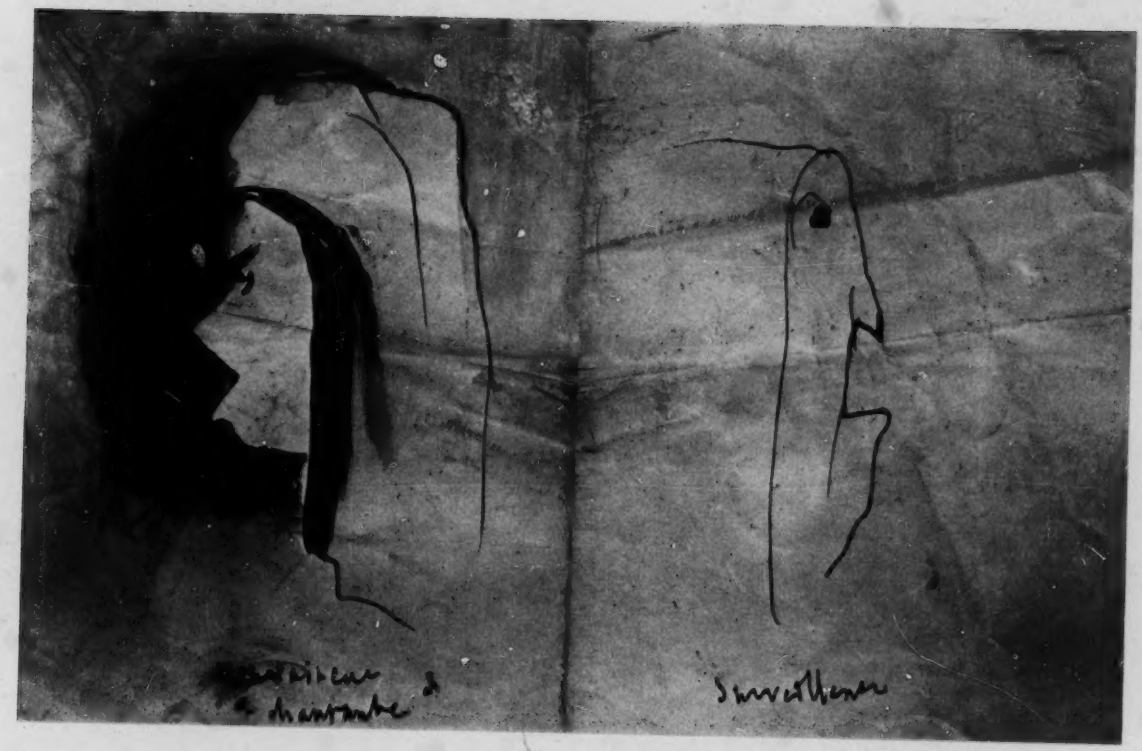
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Département des Manuscrits

'Cote 127', to which this drawing belongs, was described as 'Inchoata (prose)' in the inventory of Hugo's papers compiled after his death.

J and R propose placing this drawing about 1875, apparently after a study of the paper. In which case, it would seem to be an illustration of the memories of Georges Hugo, who describes his grandfather's technique, as he observed it after the exile, thus:

'I sometimes saw him drawing at this time [. . .] He would throw the ink at random, crushing the squeaking, spurting goose-quill into the paper. He then moulded the black blot, as it were, transforming it into a town, a forest, a deep lake or a cloudy sky; he would delicately moisten the hairs of the quill with his lips and burst open a cloud from which rain would fall on the damp paper; or, very precisely, he would use it to indicate the mist that blurred the horizon. He then finished the work with a matchstick, drawing delicate architectural details, bringing the ribs of an arch to flower, adding a grimace to a gargoyle, reducing a tower to a ruin, and the matchstick between his fingers became an etcher's needle' (Georges Hugo, *Mon grand-père* [1902], Massin ed., xv–xvi/i, 935).

On the same paper, with the same ink, and certainly at the same date, Hugo made a wash sketch possessing the same technical characteristics, but completely non-figurative (ii, 958). It is one of his most completely 'blottesque' experiments.



80 [about 1875] [*Character studies; two heads*]

Two pen and black ink drawings on a sheet of yellowish paper, folded in two.

a) right-hand drawing: 229 × 178
bottom: surveillante [supervisor]

b) left-hand drawing: 229 × 178
bottom: convaincue et chantante [convinced and singing].

PROV: Hugo Estate.

BIBL: a) M I, 955; 1971 Georgel, no. 154, ill.
b) M I, 956; 1971 Georgel, no. 155.

EXHIB: 1971–72 Villequier-Paris (154–55); 1972 Paris (71); 1972 Neuchâtel (71).

Coll. M. Jean Hugo, Lunel

These two drawings have been related to several caricatures of nuns in *Théâtre de la Gaîté* (M I, 872–73, 876–77) and in several miscellaneous albums in the Bibliothèque Nationale (M I, 878–79) – the last four on the pages of a book dated 1869 and probably of that year. But these two drawings seem to be later works: the writing is that of about 1875 and the same paper is used for the manuscripts of Hugo's last short comedies (*Au Luxembourg*, 1876–78, see the Massin ed., XV–XVI/2, 300. I owe this information to Mme Annie Ubersfeld).